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CAN CONGRESS or the President do nothing to correct the scandalous situation that has arisen in the life-insurance field? We recognize that the Supreme Court has held that insurance cannot in any sense be regarded as "commerce," and therefore the insurance business is not subject to federal regulation. But the activities of the big companies have in recent months become a national scandal. On March 10 the Life Underwriters' Association of New York City stated that "despite the depression the current income of life-insurance companies was 50 per cent more than is needed to pay all death claims, maturing endowments, and annuities, together with payment of loans on policies or surrender for their cash value." Yet the companies have clamped down on all loans and cash-surrender payments, and have reduced dividends paid to policy-holders at the same time that they have increased salaries and commissions to officers and employees. Some companies frankly admit that their moratoriums on surrender payments violate established contract rights, if not also the laws of various States, and cynically add that the question of contract rights "will prob-

ably be settled in the courts." In other words, the policyholder must go to the extraordinary expense of hauling the company into court if he would collect money legally due him. There is other evidence of widespread illegality and corruption throughout the insurance field. It is useless to look to the State insurance departments to break up this racket, for most of them are the creatures of the big companies. The rights of 60,000,000 policy-holders are at stake. Are Congress and the White House going to sit idly by while the insurance ring continues to cheat and defraud these policy-holders?

THE Reconstruction Finance Corporation would be forbidden under the terms of a bill the Senate has just passed "to make, renew, or extend any loan . . . if at the time of making, renewing, or extending such loan any officer, director, or employee of the applicant is receiving compensation at a rate of \$17,500 per annum." The term "compensation" is defined to mean "any salary, fee, bonus, commission, or other payment, direct or indirect, in money or otherwise, for personal services." This limitation should have been placed in the original Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act. It can be pointed out, of course, that under it virtually every large bank, railroad, and insurance company in the country would be barred from receiving help from the R. F. C. But it is precisely that which makes this amendment so necessary. There is no earthly reason why one of these giant corporations should come to Washington pleading distress and asking for a loan while it continues to pay salaries and bonuses running in many individual cases into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. The Senate measure as originally introduced was directed only at insurance companies, some of which had recently increased the exorbitant salaries they were already paying, as *The Nation* pointed out in its issue of April 26. But in the course of the debate on the floor the bill was amended to include all corporations that might apply for loans or have already obtained loans. There is every likelihood that the Senate bill will be approved both by the House and the President. It should be.

THE RAYBURN MEASURE to safeguard investors through federal regulation of the sale of securities is limited to new offerings of securities, but within its scope it is a thorough piece of constructive legislation. The disclosures which it requires are much more sweeping and revealing than those required under the bill pending in the Senate. It borrows from British experience, generously but not slavishly. It commands a full and truthful statement, not only of the position of the issuing company, but of the people behind the company. All commissions and expenses of the issue must be disclosed. The bill imposes the responsibility of a trustee in respect of the truth and adequacy of the selling statement, not only on the principal officer and directors, but also on the underwriters. It seeks to tear the veil from all management, bonus, and other contracts not made in the ordinary course of business, and goes far to break down the screen behind which the essential facts have been hidden

from the investors. It makes unlawful any public offering of securities until a full and complete registration statement has been on file with the Federal Trade Commission for a period of thirty days. During this period the statement is open to public scrutiny. This waiting period strikes straight at the jugular vein of high-pressure financial salesmanship. It will disturb the long-established habits of bankers accustomed to take the market and the unsuspecting investor on the wing. But it will protect the investing public and ultimately the issuing companies.

PRACTICALLY ALL United States government obligations specifically promise the payment of interest and principal in gold dollars of the same weight and fineness as those existing on the date that the obligations were contracted. Many of them were bought and are held today on the basis of that promise. For that reason it is regrettable to see our government deliberately breaking that promise in what is apparently a callous and cavalier manner. Certainly the type of defense that the President offered for the action in his radio speech was far from convincing. He remarked that the government had agreed "to redeem nearly thirty billions of its debts and its currency in gold" when it "knew full well that all of the gold in the United States amounted to only between three and four billions." Innocent investors, especially foreign holders of our bonds, will be inclined to ask why the promise was made in the first place, and why the latest issue of our government bonds makes the same promise. Europe will rightly regard the President's excuse as merely a technical quibble. What investors in our government bonds are asking for is payment not in the physical metal gold, but payment in gold values—i. e., payment sufficient to offset the existing depreciation of the dollar. The preservation of the government's credit is of the utmost importance. It does that credit no good for officials to repudiate our contracts and to offer unconvincing reasons. And what of the Congressmen who have been insisting that Europe pay us the last red cent of the war debts, on the ground that they are sacred obligations, and who have been getting so much satisfaction from calling the French welchers? Can we repudiate our gold clauses on the ground that it is impossible to live up to them, and then refuse to listen to the plea of European governments that they, too, are now unable to pay?

THE ADMINISTRATION'S emergency railroad bill can only be regarded with mixed feelings. During the World War the railroads were swamped with more traffic than they knew how to handle, and government control was adopted in order that the most essential traffic could move with the greatest possible speed. Today the problem of the railroads is precisely a lack of traffic. The new bill provides for a federal coordinator, not for the purpose of moving traffic and "releasing" men for an army or for other employment, but purely for the purpose of reducing expenses. Reducing expenses for the most part is a euphemism for laying off workers; and to lay off workers at present, when no other employment can in practice be found for them, can hardly be called desirable. There is surely an element of truth in the contention of the unions that the purpose of the new railroad bill is to protect the security holder at the expense of the worker. On the other hand, it is obviously

necessary that the less fortunate railroads be permitted to earn operating expenses if the workers on them are to continue to be employed at all. In the first three months of the present year, for example, seventy-three of the nation's leading railroads failed to earn as much as their expenses and taxes. The new bill will allow traffic to be allotted to the various railroads on the decisions of committees appointed by them in proportion to their respective mileage, while the federal coordinator is to pass upon these decisions, rejecting them for his own if he finds them unsatisfactory. The new bill also repeals the futile "recapture" clause. Its new rule of rate-making is more flexible but at the same time much vaguer than the one it supersedes.

IN SPITE OF THE FLOOD of optimistic opinions from statesmen in all countries, the prospect for the success of the coming world economic conference seems to be growing darker instead of brighter. In view of the desperate need for prompt decisions, the proposed program of the conference as outlined recently by the *London Daily Telegraph* sounds appalling:

About three weeks will be occupied by public speeches by the heads of the delegations of the sixty-six invited Powers. . . . The conference will then go into committee, appointing technical subcommittees that may be in a position to report on the main specific problems by the beginning of August, when they will adjourn until after the September meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Thus the prospect is that the world may be kept waiting for concrete results until Christmas. Already we are told that it will be impossible for President Roosevelt to obtain his proposed "tariff truce" with Great Britain until he has promised definitely to grant a moratorium on war debts. Even if the so-called tariff truce could be achieved, it would not mean any real truce in the sense of the suspension of existing tariff schedules, but merely an agreement not to raise these further before or during the conference. This is as if warring nations were to attempt to arrange an "armistice" providing that neither side would fire any more shots each day than they had already been firing. Nor does it add to one's sense of confidence to learn that former Governor James M. Cox of Ohio may be appointed not merely as one of the American delegates, but possibly "chairman for the greater part of the sessions." Governor Cox may be a good run-of-the-mill politician, but he has never revealed any particular knowledge or grasp of economic problems, nor has he ever distinguished himself as an international conciliator.

WE DID NOT TAKE SERIOUSLY reports, most of which emanated from Chinese sources, that the Russians and Japanese were moving troops in preparation for an armed conflict. More recent developments seem to confirm the view that Moscow and Tokio have been maneuvering for advantage in the impending negotiations regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway and Russia's attitude toward the new state of Manchukuo. Apparently authentic dispatches suggest that the Soviet government is at last ready to dispose of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This confirms the statement in *The Nation* of March 29 last, by Louis Fischer, that "if Moscow were offered \$100,000,000 for its share of the Chinese Eastern there would be an almost irresistible

tendency to accept." The Russians, according to the dispatches, have asked \$150,000,000. The Japanese are said to offer about \$20,000,000. At the beginning of a transaction the two parties start far apart in order to come close together at a subsequent stage. The sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway cannot remain an isolated fact. It would ultimately involve de jure recognition of Manchukuo by the Soviet government and acceptance of Japan's forceful annexation of new and vast Chinese territories. We cannot believe that this is to Russia's taste. It certainly is not in Russia's, or China's, or America's interest.

THE STATUS OF MANCHURIA, and particularly of the Chinese Eastern Railway, has always been of moment to the United States. At the Williamstown Institute of Politics in 1929 Stanley K. Hornbeck, Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs of the State Department, said, apropos the Chinese Eastern and South Manchuria railways: "These lines, therefore, no matter who built them or who administered them, are not exclusively of Chinese, exclusively of Russian, or exclusively of Japanese concern. They were born in and of international politics." He might have added that they were also of American concern. The United States government has endeavored on three occasions in the last three decades to neutralize the Manchurian roads: through the action of Secretary of State Knox in 1909; of the Wilson Administration in 1919, when an Inter-Allied committee with John F. Stevens as chairman took the roads under control; and of Henry L. Stimson in 1929 and thereafter. The loss of the road by Russia and its acquisition by Japan or by an abject Japanese vassal would tend to give a touch of finality to Tokio's occupation of the three Eastern Provinces of China. But we are by treaty committed to protect Chinese territorial integrity, and we are by tradition opposed to the entrenchment of Japan on the Asiatic mainland. The situation seems to call for collaboration between Russia and the United States. The crisis is only one more of a myriad reasons why Washington should quickly get in touch with Moscow.

ANOTHER EUROPEAN REVOLUTION seems likely to end in victory for the forces of reaction. The history of the German revolution of 1918 is being duplicated in Spain. In each case a monarchical government was succeeded by a Republican-Socialist coalition. In each case the Republicans and Socialists hedged their program of reconstruction and reform with a policy of compromise. The roots of the old regime remained deeply imbedded in the cultural, political, and economic life of each country. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the royalists, big landowners, and industrialists still tremendously powerful in Spain. In the recent municipal elections they won 9,160 seats as against the 5,048 seats won by the government parties, which were supported by the small shopkeepers, skilled artisans, and well-to-do peasants. The coalition must now decide whether it shall move to the left, toward a dictatorship, in order to save itself and the revolution, or whether in the name of democracy it ought to yield to the majority and so bring back to life many of the evils that led to the overthrow of Alfonso in April, 1931. The principle of democracy itself is not at stake, though the coalition parties may make the mistake of thinking it is. Spain has had no experience in democracy,

no opportunity to develop strong and enduring democratic institutions. To surrender to the forces of reaction would be the height of fatuity. The monarchists and wealthy bourgeoisie would, with the help of the church, promptly restore the old dictatorship and destroy the democratic groundwork laid by the Republican and Socialist parties. The choice in Spain is not between democracy and dictatorship; it lies between two kinds of dictatorship—one that gives promise of a return to democratic methods in the future, and one that will endeavor to keep Spain permanently chained to the feudal institutions which the 1931 revolution was designed to abolish.

GANDHI'S FAST which began May 8 is directly aimed at the removal of untouchability. Indirectly it is aimed against British rule in India, and it may prove to be the most effective attack he has ever made. Disaffection for Great Britain is admittedly widespread in every section of Indian opinion, including those elements whose support has been most assiduously courted and counted upon. It is Indian disunity which is preserving British rule. The removal of untouchability would close the great gap in the Hindu ranks. Gandhi's fast of last autumn brought Hindu-Moslem unity closer to realization than ever before. It is likely that the present one may close the breach entirely for practical political purposes. If he should die, the moral effect of his sacrifice, given the importance of Gandhi as a symbol to the whole of India, would almost certainly produce that result. The British authorities, in releasing him from prison, have seized upon their one means of self-defense, but Gandhi's death, even outside of jail, would have tremendous repercussions. It is reported that a government official in India told a member of the British India League that Gandhi was the best policeman the government had. It is a shrewd comment growing out of the great British fear of widespread disorder if he should die. Whether that fear is justified remains to be seen. Non-violence is still a powerful force in India. But it is certain that the fast, whether Gandhi survives it or not, by increasing Indian unity will mark a great step toward Indian independence. Meanwhile the new Indian constitution, which has scarcely any support in India because it is too full of safeguards, is meeting conservative snags in the British Parliament because it is not full enough.

WE HAVE JUST ADDED two items to the dossier which we are forming in preparation for a treatise to be entitled "The Progress of the New Freedom in Europe." The first of these items is concerned with Mussolini, who recently refused to open the National Style Show in Turin until all the slim girls in the mural decorations had been repainted upon more flowing lines, and issued to the newspapers an instruction ordering them henceforth to accept for publication only such representations of the female figure as exemplify the "fully developed bust and hips appropriate to the Fascist girl and mother." The other item is an Associated Press dispatch from Constantinople announcing that nineteen priests had just been sentenced to from one to two years of hard labor for their refusal to employ in their prayers the Turkish word "Tanrı" instead of the Arabic "Allah." With unconscious irony the New York Times heads this dispatch "Turkish Courts Lenient to Nineteen Who Defied Prayer Decree." It seems a sentence of death had been expected.

Prairie Fire

FROM the Middle West comes a whiff of smoke, and a glow of fire flushes faintly, distantly, but ominously on the horizon. Nobody who has lived in the open acres ever minimizes even the slightest flicker of red in the tinder of dry grass or the leaves of a forest. The eyes of the country, which for two months have been concentrated on Washington, may now have reason to turn with even more concern toward the hinterland.

Happening simultaneously with martial law in north-west Iowa, and undoubtedly influenced by it, the vote of the farmers' convention in Des Moines on May 4 to begin nine days later a "holiday" in supplying food to the people of the United States was probably the most momentous news of the twenty-four hours, despite the fact that New York newspapers next day chose to relegate it to a secondary position while featuring on their front pages developments in connection with the Administration's "farm relief." The action of the militant farmers was a vote of no confidence in the adequacy of the Washington proposals, and it was cast not by residents of the Middle West alone but by beleaguered agriculturists of a score of States stretching west to the plains of Montana, dipping down into the cotton lands of Texas, and reaching "back East" to include the milk belt of New York. To dismiss the vote as unimportant with the assertion that it represented only 1 per cent of the farmers in the region in question, and so is unlikely to "succeed," is to take an earthworm view of the situation. The mental turmoil which produces great historical changes cannot be reduced to statistics. In a final sense the action of the farmers cannot fail because it has behind it the pressure of grievances so elemental that somehow or other they are destined to be lessened.

In an editorial comment on the situation in Iowa the New York *World-Telegram* says:

For all of the loose talk in America about red revolution and menaces of the kind that exist only in the hysterical imaginations of patrioteers, Americans are slow to understand that actual revolution already exists in the farm belt. To be sure it is only local in scope, but national revolution begins in local revolt against laws, sheriffs, judges, courts, militia. When the local revolt springs from old native stock, conservatives fighting for the right to hold their homesteads, there is the warning of a larger explosion.

From a radical source this might be regarded as the expression of a hope rather than a conviction, but from the *World-Telegram* it must be accepted as the latter. Nor does it seem to be an overstatement. The reasons for revolutions are always profound and usually long standing, but the pretexts—the occurrences which finally precipitate them—are immediate and often trivial. The manhandling of Judge Bradley of Le Mars, Iowa, by a party of farmers bears a close likeness to a certain "tea party" once held on the waterfront of Boston. And it is not quite impossible that Judge Bradley's provocative rebuke to the farmers, "This is my court," may take its place beside the traditional answer of Marie Antoinette to the plea that her people had no bread, "Let them eat cake."

Class-conscious radicals in our cities are sometimes disposed to question the validity of the agricultural uprising on the ground that the farmers do not aim at changing the industrial system nor proclaim any permanent revolutionary principles. The farmers, it is said, are "patriotic" 100 per cent Americans who would subside at once if their particular grievances were temporarily removed by some opportunist palliative. This is largely true. Most of them have never heard of Karl Marx, or if they have, think he is a brother of Groucho. But if revolution starts in the United States, it is precisely in such a group that it is likely to take shape, not among radicals and not even because of their propaganda. Whatever the underlying causes for revolution may be, actual action comes usually, as already suggested, because some incident, often trivial, gets some group "hopping mad." Naturally this is more likely to occur among supporters of the established order who suddenly find it to be incompetent than among those long convinced of its inadequacy. Besides, an outburst among conservatives is a hundred times more likely to spread, because it can count on a far wider basis of support than if sponsored by radicals, and cannot be so ruthlessly suppressed. It is impossible for anybody to predict what the eventual direction of a revolutionary movement in America might be, but it is a safe guess that it would start not at a Communist rally in Union Square but among disinterested farmers in the back country, at some meeting of disgruntled veterans of the World War, or in a group of unemployed gnawed with hunger and with no object in view other than a couple of square meals a day.

The way in which the farm trouble in Iowa and the "holiday" over a more extensive area is met may well have historic consequences. We do not want to be too quick to condemn Governor Herring for calling out militia. It was his duty to support the courts, and it must be remembered that, unlike many other commonwealths, Iowa has no State police. But although the Governor may have been justified in calling out troops, we hope he will use them not to supersede but to protect the civil authorities in their work.

"Beware the anger of a patient man," runs a European proverb. The American farmer has been inexpressibly patient. His troubles do not date from 1929. Since the beginning of the industrial age in America he has been getting relatively a reduced share of the national wealth. Farming has constantly become less independent and less fortunate as a way of life. During the World War the farmer made some temporary advance but he was the first and the most flatly to be deflated after it. He shared hardly at all in "Coolidge prosperity" and has been an outstanding victim of the depression, with the collapse of food prices, the crumbling of real-estate values, and the failure of country banks.

Governor Herring will not get far in the solution of Iowa's melancholy agricultural problem with martial law, and it is doubtful if the Washington Administration will do better with its farm bill. Yet there is not all the time in the world to wait. Nero fiddled while Rome burned. Washington, with a preference for wind instruments, seems satisfied to play the bazoo while the prairies are afire.

Put People to Work!

UNEMPLOYMENT is the overshadowing fact in our economic crisis. Approximately one-third of our wage-earning population is jobless. Moreover, thousands technically employed receive no pay. Further than that, savings have now been dissipated, local relief has collapsed, and the problem is more than ever crucial. Yet except for the employment given 250,000 men in the forestry camps, and in various trades through the legalizing of beer, the Roosevelt program has to date included no serious effort to strike at the root of our trouble. Indeed, it is probable that even that slight degree of reemployment is offset by the administrative retrenchment already effected and proposed. A mass of legislative proposals have been ground out at Washington with unprecedented speed. Yet the one direct attack upon depression—the putting of men and women to work, to restore their purchasing power—has been conspicuously absent.

For three and a half years the American people, sinking deeper into the morass, has had dangled before it the tantalizing vision of a great public-works program. Almost immediately after his election in 1928, Mr. Hoover made known his view of the advisability of such a program in the event of depression, and virtually promised it through the Governors' Conference toward the close of that year. After the crash Mr. Hoover reversed himself, declared that we could not "squander our way out of the depression," and though at various times subsequently he alluded to "public construction" as one of the remedial measures he had adopted, it became evident that this did not go beyond the normal construction already projected. Programs of public works involving expenditures of five billion dollars or more were urged by responsible individuals and groups—by Senator La Follette, by Catholic welfare societies, by a great number of outstanding economists, and a year ago, on May 22, by the American Society of Civil Engineers—all to no effect. In the closing year of the Hoover Administration billions were appropriated through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation—but this merely found its way into the vaults of shaky banks or into the treasuries of bankrupt railroads.

It was to be expected that from the hour of his nomination, or at least from the day of his election, Mr. Roosevelt would set the machinery in motion for the far-reaching planning which such a direct employment program through public works would entail. To date there is no evidence of such planning. Yet in his inaugural the President declared: "Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. . . . It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of war, but at the same time through this employment accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our great national resources."

After more than two months of the Roosevelt Administration, it is proper to ask what has become of this greatest "primary" task, and what and where the "projects" are. In his radio address on Sunday night, May 7, the President made allusion to a public-works measure which was to be presented to Congress within the week. But it appears that an appropriation of only \$1,500,000,000 is contemplated.

Such a sum is the merest pittance, wholly inadequate to the needs of 15,000,000 unemployed, for whom with their dependents it thus allows but \$100 apiece for the next year—assuming that this is a one-year program and not to be spread over several years. It may even include the already announced Muscle Shoals project, the annual \$50,000,000 rivers-and-harbors appropriation, which is being taken out of the War Department budget, and an appropriation for new naval construction. Is it to be the Hoover story all over again? Except for the emergency bank legislation of the first days of March, all else is of secondary importance to reemploying our citizenry. A five-billion-dollar public construction program is imperative.

German Labor in Ruins

THE Day of National Labor, celebrated in every part of Germany with customary Nazi pomp and swagger, fittingly presaged the sequestration of the unions affiliated with the General Federation of Trade Unions, the arrest of the leading trade unionists, and the confiscation of all labor banks and workers' cooperatives that followed a day later. With one stroke, the Hitler Government laid hands upon material possessions belonging to organized labor having a value of many millions of marks, to use them in the interests of the middle class against the working-class population of the Reich.

That the General German Federation of Labor had 4,800,000 members at the end of 1932, that is, that it had lost only 250,000 members during the years of severe industrial depression since 1928—less than the number lost by the United Mine Workers of America during the same period—is proof, if proof were needed, of the solidarity of that organization. Outside these free trade unions approximately two million German workers were organized in office workers' organizations and in the Christian and liberal trade unions, which after the coup d'état of May 2 voluntarily placed themselves under government control.

The ruthlessness with which the government proceeded against the labor unions seems even more outrageous when one recalls that these unions not only abstained from all opposition to the Hitler regime, but actually expressed in unambiguous terms their willingness to cooperate within the national front. In previous issues we have commented upon negotiations that had taken place between the president of the G. G. F. L. and Hitler and Seldte. A declaration of the trade-union executive published in the German press made it appear that an understanding with the government was practically complete. His view of the situation was so generally accepted that the representative of the Swedish trade unions, at the April session (Amsterdam) of the Trade Union International, moved the expulsion of the G. G. F. L. for its "unpardonable compliance with the demands of the fascist government." The official May Day proclamation of the Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels, which underscored the anti-Marxian character of this Day of National Labor, elicited from the federation the reply that it would participate in the government's plans for May Day "to honor creative labor and celebrate the lining up of labor with the state." Simultaneously it was announced that trade-union

headquarters would fly the national flag on May 1. But all this was of no avail.

Materially, the confiscation of the workers' cooperatives by the Hitler Government is a matter of even greater concern. The membership of these cooperatives represents an army of consumers with a purchasing power that will exceed 800,000,000 marks in the current year. The army of 100,000 employees needed for the operation of these cooperatives will give the National Socialists a welcome opportunity to place many thousands of their own followers—many of them are white-collar men—in agreeable and comparatively well-paid jobs. The same is true of the producers' cooperatives, which employ an even greater number of workers and foremen. In the desperate financial situation of the nation the 80,000,000 marks deposited by workers in cooperative savings accounts, now in the hands of the Hitler Government, are an important consideration.

What the government will do with these cooperatives, which are especially numerous in the industrial districts, remains to be seen. It may be that they will be practically eliminated by prohibitive taxes from competition with the small tradesmen. It is not impossible, on the other hand, that the government may apply the postulates of the National Socialist program concerning department stores to the retail establishments of these cooperatives, and lease them to individual storekeepers for private operation. These declarations, which it has hitherto hesitated to apply to the large commercial undertakings of the rich, may fall relentlessly on the workers' cooperative undertakings, for they, like the Jews, are helpless and defenseless under the Nazi regime.

The fate of the unions is more easily forecast. They will be united under the direction and control of a national commissioner, to be appointed in the near future, in a single corporation upon which will devolve the task—simple enough under a fascist regime, as Mussolini's experience has shown—of bringing about a peaceable regulation of all controversies that may arise between capital and labor. In other words, ninety-nine cases out of one hundred will be settled to the satisfaction of the employers. The workers, deprived of both press and organization, will be left in helpless subjugation.

Pearl Buck, Heretic

PEARL BUCK has quietly resigned from the missionary service of the Presbyterian church. By so doing she has deprived us of the entertaining spectacle which a heresy trial would certainly have provided, but we are inclined to believe that she was quite within her rights. After all, Mrs. Buck has already given the world some interesting novels, and she may well feel, as Dr. Johnson once did, that she has done as much as any individual is required to do for the amusement of the public. By now she is again en route for China, no longer as a missionary but still "very much the wife" of J. Lossing Buck, head of the department of rural economics and sociology in the University of Nanking. Probably she feels that a place where "the heathen rage" is preferable to one where the theologians rant. Indeed, she implied as much in the now famous *Harper's Magazine* article in which she remarked, apropos the doctrine that an infidel is necessarily damned for all eternity unless a Christian mis-

sionary happens to come his way, "I agree with the Chinese, who feel that their people should be protected from such superstition."

As for the controversy in which she refused to engage, it would have been marked by a certain quaint, academic interest. Having been a missionary all her life, Mrs. Buck naturally took advantage of her presence in this country to discuss the good old American question of foreign missions and their value. Being also an intelligent, well-informed woman, she naturally said what at least the vast majority of her informed coreligionists would say under similar circumstances—namely, that the value of her work certainly did not lie in any Calvinistic theology which she might teach to the Chinese farmers. Mrs. Buck did not go so far as to rest her case upon the value of the social service which American missionaries have rendered. On the contrary, she reaffirmed her faith in the importance of what she believes to be the essential spirit of the Christian religion. There is, she maintained, a case for foreign missions because there is a case for Christianity, because, all things considered, she would not be willing to see the influence of Christ disappear from the world. But she certainly did imply very plainly that she cared little whether this Christ was a historical figure or only a legend, and she reported incredible things of certain of her fellow-workers.

I have seen the missionary narrow, uncharitable, unappreciative, ignorant. I have seen him so filled with arrogance in his own beliefs, so sure that all truth was with him and him only, that my heart has knelt with a humble one before the shrine of Buddha rather than before the God of that missionary. . . . I have seen missionaries . . . so lacking in sympathy for the people they were supposed to be saving, so scornful of any civilization except their own, so harsh in their judgments upon one another, so coarse and sensitive among a sensitive and cultivated people that my heart fairly bled with shame. . . . I have heard a missionary say, "Of course I tell these people their ancestors are in hell. If I did not believe that every heathen who did not confess Christ as his Savior burned in hell I would not be here."

Naturally Dr. J. Gresham Machen, professor at the ultra-orthodox Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia, and long prominent as a fundamentalist champion, objected to such sentiments as these. He drew up a brief in which he demanded that she be dismissed on the ground that she does not hold a belief in the divinity of Christ essential, does not credit the miracles described in the New Testament, and does not accept the doctrine of Original Sin. He peddled his objections from group to group until he found one willing to present an "overture" looking to the reform of the Board of Foreign Missions, and when the teapot tempest was about to break, Mrs. Buck decided to save everybody trouble by resigning from her official post.

Of course Dr. Machen has logic on his side. Of course Mrs. Buck's opinions are so far removed from the official creed of her church that John Calvin would have thought dismissal a very inadequate penalty for opinions as dangerous as hers. But of course, also, only a very small minority of the leaders among the Presbyterians actually believe what they are theoretically required to believe, and Dr. Machen is fighting a picturesquely hopeless fight against the spirit of his time.



The Burning of the Books

"Guaranteed" Mortgages

By BENEDICT A. LEERBURGER

NO mortgage company operating in New York City has paid the principal due the holders of its guaranteed certificates maturing after January 1, 1932. Instead the companies have chosen to avail themselves of the customary eighteen months' period of grace which is written in their contracts. As this period will expire on July 1 next, most investors have been at least mildly curious as to what concrete meaning would be given to the word "guarantee" as used in their certificates.

About two and one-half billion dollars of mortgages have been guaranteed by the four largest companies operating in New York City, and more than three billion dollars has been invested in guaranteed mortgages in New York State alone. These companies have heretofore widely advertised the safety as an investment of their guaranteed mortgages. They informed the public, moreover, that they were subject to the supervision of the Insurance Department of the State of New York, and that such investments were legal when made by trustees. It follows that the great bulk of the investors who bought the guaranteed mortgages and certificates of these various companies were widows, infants, and other wards of the court. Savings banks, insurance companies, and charitable and fraternal organizations were also large investors in this type of security. There can be no question that the insurance feature of a guaranteed mortgage had a particular appeal to those intrusted with other people's money. The belief in the additional factor of safety, namely, the guaranty, was often the deciding feature when making a choice of investments.

It must be borne in mind that at all times since the companies first commenced selling these securities they have retained not only the bonus that the borrower was obliged to pay to procure the loan (in many cases and in most building-loan contracts a sum equal to 10 per cent of the principal), as well as the cost of title searches and insurance, but also, as additional profit, the difference between the interest rate called for in the mortgage and the interest paid by them under the terms of their guaranteed certificates. This is the price the investor has paid for his guaranty.

Various expedients were planned by the companies against the day of reckoning. Some went to the mortgage-holder and frankly asked to be relieved of the guaranty, agreeing to give to the holder full power to negotiate directly with the owner of the property involved and foreclose or not (but at his own expense), as he might deem to be for his best interest. This method is the one now openly advocated by the present State Superintendent of Insurance of New York. Some companies wrote letters to all of their clients seeking both a reduction of the guaranteed interest rate and an extension of time within which to pay the principal. These letters dwelt with anxiety on the plight of the home-owner and even seemed to imply that the benefit of this act of mercy would be passed on immediately to the struggling wage-earner and home-owner. The writer examined the records of some of the properties referred to in these letters and learned that in each instance the property had been

recently foreclosed and was now owned by the mortgage company itself or its subsidiary. The struggling home-owner was none other than the company itself.

The third method was ingenious. A bill was prepared for introduction to the New York State legislature. A corps of astute lawyers framed the bill, coating it with sugar to insure its passage. In substance it was designed to bring about a moratorium. The companies were never deceived concerning its conflict with the Constitution but they believed that the inevitable litigation would give them an additional twenty-four months of grace. They had the Hoover complex that in time conditions would bring about a gradual rise in values which would enable them to pay their more recalcitrant clients.

Another plan that died aborning contemplated the creation of a new corporation called the Realty Stabilization Corporation, of which William C. Osborn had been elected president. It was to be capitalized at \$10,000,000, contributed by the companies. It was then to borrow from the R. F. C. enough money to pay its maturing obligations, assigning to the R. F. C. a prior participating interest in the mortgages and retaining for its members the junior interest. In effect, the corporation would have become second mortgagee and the R. F. C. would hold the first mortgages at greatly reduced face value.

When the President of the United States declared a bank holiday, however, the State Superintendent of Insurance, George S. Van Schaick interpreted it to include the mortgage companies. Consequently, and ostensibly to prevent hoarding, he directed the companies to make no further payments on their obligations except where the companies received interest from the mortgagor. In such event they were permitted to pay the interest—less a management fee and any reserve they might deem necessary to set up for the payment of real-estate taxes. As a result no further investment by these companies is necessary. Moreover, they derive a profit from the management fee which they did not have under their prior contracts. The Superintendent of Insurance, in order to clothe this leniency with an apparent consideration, directed the companies not to sell any more guaranteed mortgages except with his express permission. The companies are really losing nothing by abiding by this decree for the reason that they have been unable to sell their guaranteed certificates since they first exercised their eighteen months' period of grace. Their guaranteed mortgages and certificates were selling and still are selling at a huge discount in the open market. This "relief" will continue until the Governor or the legislature declares the "emergency" at an end, but until such time the companies are restrained from paying their obligations. The State Superintendent of Insurance, however, has neither taken them over nor directed their liquidation.

In many instances the mortgage company is permitting the second mortgagee to collect the rental although the first mortgage is in default and taxes have not been paid. The companies now have no incentive to protect the underlying

security, and since they must bear the cost of foreclosure themselves, their tendency is to remain wholly inactive. In these instances every dollar of rent paid to the second mortgagee is taken directly from the first-mortgage certificate holders, who should be entitled to receive these rents or at least have them applied toward the payment of taxes.

However, the companies have been successful in procuring some legislative relief. They have continued to seek direct relief by negotiating with the principal holders of these investments, but in most instances they encountered a legal difficulty. If they approached an insurance company or trustee of an estate and asked to be relieved from making payment, they were told that the guaranty could not legally be waived—and certainly not without some consideration or benefit to the trustee. Should a trustee waive the provisions of the guaranty, he would be personally chargeable with any loss that his ward might sustain as a result, since such action on his part obviously could not have been for the benefit of his ward.

This situation was met by a bill introduced into the State legislature by Senator Buckley which became law on April 21. It permits an executor, administrator, trustee, or other person holding trust funds invested in guaranteed mortgages to "adjust, reduce, modify, postpone, or compound the same or any terms or conditions thereof including the rate of interest or any instalments thereof, and [the trustee] may at any time release the same." Certainly, no possible benefit can accrue to those who waive the provisions of their contracts, and the legislation appears to be meaningless unless it is contemplated to exert some coercive pressure upon those institutions that now hold a large amount of these guaranteed mortgages, particularly those under the supervision of the same State superintendent as the life-insurance companies. A similar bill allowing savings banks to waive provisions of the guaranty was likewise passed.

Since the purchaser of a guaranteed mortgage or certificate is usually the antithesis of a speculator and has paid heavily for such guaranty, it is of interest to inquire just what he can hope to recoup from his guaranty. Subjoined is an analysis of the four leading companies in New York City operating under the Insurance Department of New York State. The figures, taken from the annual report of the State Superintendent of Insurance, are not encouraging

to the investor. (The figures for the year 1932 have not as yet been published.)

It will be noted that not a single company has set up a reserve upon which to draw for payment of maturing obligations under its guaranties. It should be noted further that each of the companies has regularly paid throughout the depression a constant rate of dividends to stockholders, and that since their organization from two to three times the amount of the contributed capital has been repaid. The advance report for 1933, skeletonizing the statement submitted by the State Superintendent of Insurance of New York and unaudited, nevertheless discloses that each of the four designated companies paid dividends to their respective stockholders, in three instances at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Bond and Mortgage Guaranty Company paid an actual dividend of 19 per cent. In two companies the capital and surplus account for the year 1931 depreciated by two or three million dollars. Despite this fact, which indicates the trend in the real-estate market, the guaranties of the respective companies increased in 1931, in one instance five million dollars and in the other instance twenty-six million dollars (representing a further increase in their contingent liabilities). It should also be noted that the salaries paid to officers, directors, and office employees were increased by three of the four companies.

The fund available for distribution to the creditors is indicated in the capital and surplus accounts. Yet on the basis of the statements of December 31, 1931, the ratio between these accounts and the amount of mortgages guaranteed ranges from a low of 2 per cent to a high of 10 per cent. The conclusion that such an amount would be available is based on the assumption that the assets can be liquidated at the book value and at no cost, obviously a false assumption. The guaranty, as such, with reference to these companies, is at this time worth relatively nothing.

In this connection, now that the horse has been stolen, the present Superintendent of Insurance is recommending legislation limiting the amount of mortgages that a company can guarantee on the basis of a stated ratio between such guaranties and capital and surplus. It will be a long time, however, before investors will again believe in the sanctity of the guaranteed mortgage. Until then such a recommendation is only a *beau geste*.

ANALYSIS OF FOUR LEADING MORTGAGE COMPANIES IN NEW YORK CITY

Company	1930 Capital and surplus	1931 Capital and surplus	1930 Mortgages guaranteed	1931 Mortgages guaranteed	1930 Dividends	1931 Dividends	Dividends paid since organization	Salaries paid to officers, directors and office employees for 1930	Salaries paid to officers, directors and office employees for 1931	Ratio of capital and surplus to guaranteed mortgages, 1931
Lawyers Mtg.	\$22,264,000	\$22,638,000	\$419,892,799	\$434,870,115	\$1,680,000	\$1,680,000	\$22,536,436	\$ 889,246	\$ 970,838	5 per cent
Lawyers Title.	28,554,160	26,355,221	219,371,995	224,348,880	1,200,000	1,200,000	18,190,000	1,448,508	1,285,489	10 per cent
N.Y.T. & M. Co.	64,401,538	61,321,561	702,979,828	728,689,245	4,000,000	4,000,000	29,421,894	2,479,273	2,651,482	8 per cent
B. & M. G. Co. (a subsidiary of the T. G. & T.)	21,576,641	22,439,050	861,990,381	921,225,194	2,500,000	2,500,000	35,379,985	699,505	746,709	2 per cent

Note that on an increase of less than one million dollars in the capital and surplus account of 1931 over 1930, the Bond and Mortgage Guaranty Company increased by over sixty million dollars the amount of mortgages guaranteed by it. The New York Title and Mortgage Company with a decrease in the same account of more than three million dollars increased its mortgage guaranties by slightly less than twenty-six million dollars, and the Lawyers Title, with a similar reduction in its surplus account, nevertheless guaranteed an additional five million dollars in mortgages. Observe, moreover, that three companies in 1931 increased the amounts paid to the companies' officers; and that since their organization they have paid to their stockholders dividends ranging from more than twice to three times the original investment.

Tax-free Cities

Public Profits from Municipal Power

By LOUIS BARTLETT

EIGHTY-FOUR cities in the United States levy no taxes, yet perform all the functions of ordinary cities, and keep out of debt. There is nothing extraordinary in their location or natural advantages; they pay operating expenses, as many efficient factories do, from their by-products, and they keep expenses down by cutting out waste. These cities range in population from a few hundred to over 20,000, and are located in sixteen States. Oklahoma has fifty-five; Kansas seven; Indiana three; Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Nebraska two each; and Georgia, Texas, Vermont, Idaho, Washington, New York, New Jersey, and Wyoming one each. It sounds too good to be true, but the fact is stubborn; these cities levy no taxes, yet they are efficiently run and furnish the services—police and fire protection, streets, sewers, and schools—that well-managed modern towns need.

How is this possible, when most American cities are reducing salaries, cutting down improvements, neglecting upkeep, and at the same time struggling under a load of taxes in many cases too heavy to bear, as the delinquency lists show? The answer is simple. These cities use the profits from the sale of municipal water, gas, and electricity, which would otherwise go to private companies, to carry on police, educational, and other non-revenue-producing services. In reality what citizens pay for public-utility services is a tax; but we are not used to calling it that, because it is not paid at the City Hall twice a year, but is turned over monthly to private companies which make a profit out of the transaction. More people pay for water, gas, and electricity than for the support of city, county, State, and national governments; and they pay far more for these services than they pay in taxes to any governmental unit. To illustrate: In California the cost of the State government for the current year is \$126,000,000; gas and electric bills alone amount to \$188,000,000, or nearly 50 per cent more. City governments in California cost \$145,000,000 and county governments \$123,000,000. If the cost of water, telephone, and transportation were added to the \$188,000,000, the disproportion would be much greater. No study of taxation, therefore, is complete if it omits consideration of what is paid for essential services which are furnished by a duly licensed monopoly, in other words, by a public-utility company. Necessary services, such as the supplying of bread under a competitive system, are of course in a different category.

Do we pay a fair price for our gas and electricity? Are the private utility companies honest and efficient? Ask the stockholder in the Insull holding companies. He knows. So do the stockholders of most utility companies. Their stocks are being put through the wringer and they are realizing that, with the water squeezed out, little remains. The first issuance of these so-called "securities" was a fraud on the public. But tons of paper and ink are still used to tell the world that the private companies, which admittedly were dishonest in their stock dealings, are honest and efficient in

the management of their properties, that consumers receive from them good service at a fair price.

But the fact that cities owning their own systems get equally good service at lower rates will not down. Some time ago Senator Norris introduced a graph into the *Congressional Record* showing that the average rate for domestic electric service in twenty-four American cities over a period of sixteen years was 7.4 cents per kilowatt hour, while during the same period in Ontario, Canada, the average for twenty-one cities was 1.6 cents per kilowatt hour. Since this study was made, prices under both public and private ownership have been reduced, but in about the same ratio.

Ambassador Frederick Sackett told the World Power Conference in Germany two years ago that there was something wrong with an industry that sold its product for fifteen times its original cost. Two thousand cities which own and distribute their own electric power have discovered what is wrong—the companies make excessive profits which they hide from the public in a maze of holding companies, fictitious capitalization, and juggled bookkeeping that would make the Cretan labyrinth look like a four-track highway. And in order to keep people deluded, they employ all the arts of the propagandist and keep in pleasant personal touch with the leaders in every community—at the rate-payers' expense.

An interesting disclosure of how it is done came out recently in a rate hearing before the California Railroad Commission, when the San Joaquin Light and Power Company was forced to give in detail all the items charged to its "operating expenses." It paid the following club dues and expenses for its employees: twenty-two in the Commercial Club, five in the Exchange Club, four in the Rotary Club, one in the Round Table, five in the Lions Club, three in the Bakersfield Club (outside of the territory it serves), one in the Optimists Club, four in the Engineers Club, three in the University-Sequoia Club, one in the Business Men's Club, one in the Petroleum Club, one in the Kiwanis Club, four in the Fresno City Farm Center, seven in the Ad Club, one in the American Legion, one in the Dairymen's Club, one in the Press Club. And besides being a member of many of these clubs, the president of the company which operates in the vicinity of Fresno, 200 miles from San Francisco, had the rate-payers pay his club dues in the California Club, Commercial Club, Family Club, and Bohemian Club of San Francisco, as well as in other clubs lumped together under the title "miscellaneous." One wonders when he found the time to earn his salary of \$22,900 a year.

No one is louder in the cause of good government than these club members; in fact, that is why they are members. They must be leaders in their respective communities and see that the towns are run "right." There must be no extravagance in city government; salaries must be kept down to the minimum. Especially in times of depression the pruning shears must be used freely to keep taxes down. They form "economy leagues," "taxpayers' associations," and similar or-

ganizations with patriotic titles, and enrol many good citizens who innocently think they are working for the community. Let us look closely at one of these organizations.

California, like other States, must pull in its belt. Since 1931 its government has been operating with the abandon of a flush mining camp and piling up a deficit. There is a legitimate place for organizations to study the cost of government and stimulate the legislature to reduce taxes. It is no wonder that the State Chamber of Commerce and the California Taxpayers Association assumed leadership in this direction. When the legislature met, the senate appointed a "fact-finding" committee on the cost of government which in three weeks made a survey of every department of the State government and of many county and city activities, and presented four hundred bills to the legislature. It seemed a superhuman task for a small group—but it developed that they had been "assisted" by the California Taxpayers Association. According to the survey, salaries were to be cut to the bone, consolidations and eliminations were to be made, schools were to be curtailed. Among other things the aggregate salaries of the seven Supreme Court justices were to be cut from \$77,000 to \$56,000, or from an average of \$11,000 to \$8,000 every year.

But who runs the California Taxpayers Association? Among its directors are the heads of the most important public-utility companies of the State. They want governmental taxes reduced. But what about the taxes they themselves collect in gas, electric, telephone, telegraph, and railway rates? Is this clamor for tax reduction a means of diverting attention from their own extravagance? One hesitates to say, but the list of salaries of over \$5,000 a year recently reported to the California legislature by the Railroad Commission is interesting, to say the least. A. F. Hockenbeamer, president of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the largest electric utility in the State, receives \$75,000 a year, or enough to pay the seven salaries of the Supreme Court, at the figure his "California Taxpayers Association" thinks just, for a period of one year and four months; Paul Shoup, president of the Southern Pacific Railway Company, listed at \$100,000, reported by the press to have been kicked upstairs at a salary of \$125,000, gets enough to support the entire Supreme Court for two years. Other presidential salaries reported are: Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, \$60,000; Southern California Gas Company, \$50,000; Western Pacific Railroad, \$43,500; Southern California Edison Company, \$68,500. The total of salaries of over \$11,500 paid by the last-named company would pay the reduced salaries of the seven Supreme Court justices for seven years.

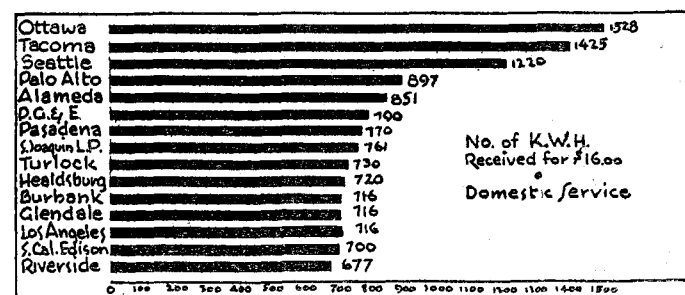
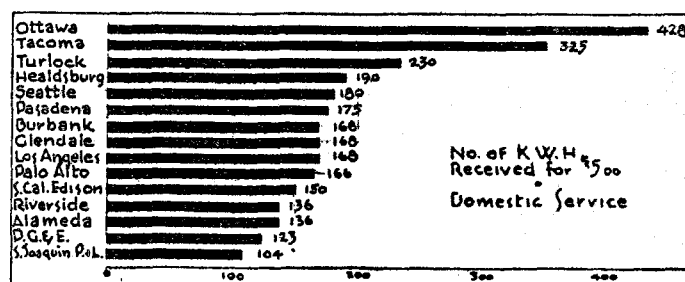
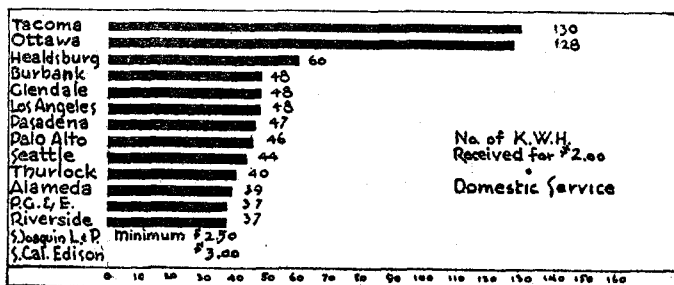
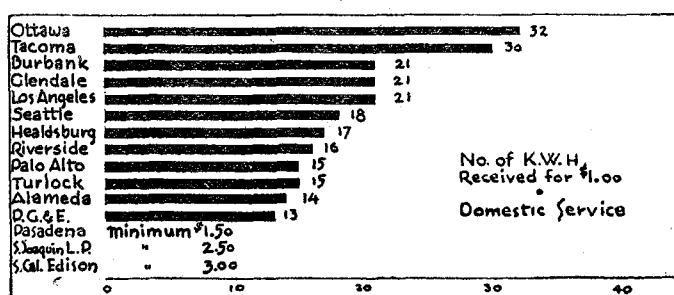
The presidents of these companies are generous to others as well. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company pays one salary of \$40,000, seven of \$21,600, two of \$18,000, seven more over \$11,000—in all, ninety-four salaries over \$5,000. The Southern California Edison Company reports one of \$45,500, one of \$33,500, one of \$27,500, three more over \$15,500, thirteen more over \$11,500—in all, eighty-two over \$5,000. The Southern Pacific Company, in addition to one salary of \$125,000, pays one of \$36,000, one of \$35,000, two of \$30,000, two of \$25,000, two of \$24,000, one of \$20,000, two of \$18,000, three of \$15,000, and in all 160 over \$5,000.

Even small electric utilities are solicitous for the

welfare of their presidents. The Vallejo Electric Light and Power Company, generating no power and serving a small community, pays \$15,000 a year to its president, not far from a dollar apiece from every man, woman, and child in the town.

These fine salaries should enable the companies to get the very best brains in the community, which should be reflected in good service and lower rates to the consumers. Service, in general, is good, but rates are another story. Exact comparison of rates is difficult to make, because each company has a policy all its own, usually making up its rates by adding to a minimum charge a price per kilowatt hour which varies according to the quantity used. Such comparisons are not available in all the States, but I recently made such a study for the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, published in its Transactions for June, 1932. It may be said

DOMESTIC POWER RATES



These four charts show the amount of power for domestic use obtainable for \$1, \$2, \$5, and \$16 in various California communities. All the cities listed own their own power plants. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the San Joaquin Light and Power Company, and the Southern California Edison Company are privately owned.

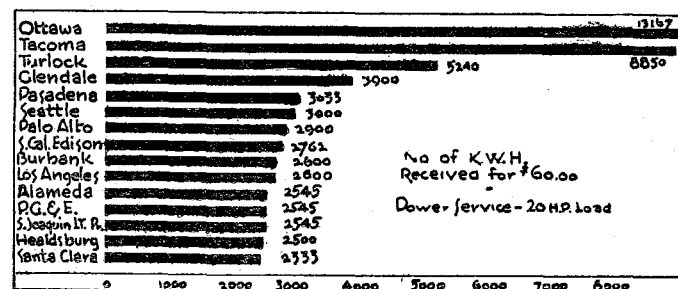
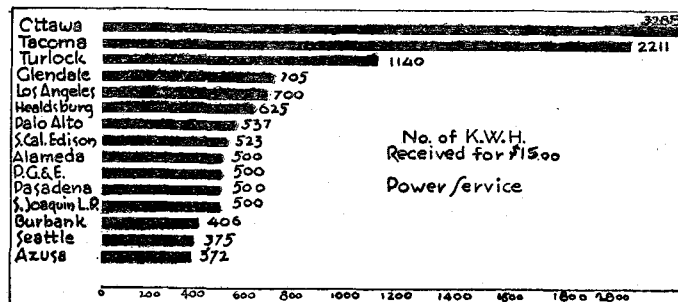
that the private companies' rates in California are lower on the average than those of companies operating elsewhere in the United States, though more than twice as high as the rates in Ontario, Canada, under public ownership. Twenty-one California cities own their own distributing systems, most of them buying power wholesale from the private companies. A comparison of domestic rates in these cities for lighting, heating, and cooking with those of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company shows that three small towns in the group charge slightly higher rates and that all the others charge less.

For instance, for \$1 a month the Pacific Gas and Electric Company gives 13 kilowatt hours; Los Angeles, Glendale, and Burbank give 21. For \$2 the P. G. and E. sells 37 kilowatt hours; Palo Alto sells 46, Pasadena 47, Los Angeles 48, and Healdsburg 60; Ottawa, Ontario, sells 128 and Tacoma, Washington, 130. Much the same ratios are found in the amounts of current for domestic use that can be bought for \$3, \$5, or more per month, and apply also for energy for commercial lighting and industrial use. Los Angeles attributes a large part of its industrial growth to its cheap municipal power rates, which had to be met by private competitors.

These cheaper power rates would hardly justify the cities, however, if they caused a deficit which had to be met from taxes. That side of the picture should be examined also. Do the cities subsidize their electric plants? The report I have cited contains exact data on this subject. It was found that after paying all operating expenses, depreciation on the investment, interest on debt, and so on—all of the items except taxes that the private companies pay—the cities made the following *net* profits per annum: Pasadena 47 per cent, Redding 46 per cent, Anaheim 46 per cent, Glendale 45 per cent, Lodi 38 per cent, Healdsburg 37 per cent, Alameda 35 per cent, Riverside 35 per cent, Palo Alto 34 per cent, Roseville 32 per cent, Santa Clara 28 per cent, Los Angeles 28 per cent. Moreover, the least net profit was 19

per cent, in Burbank, where the city has not a monopoly and must compete with the Southern California Edison Company. In California electric-utility taxes average about 10½ per cent of gross receipts. After that item is deducted (for

INDUSTRIAL POWER RATES



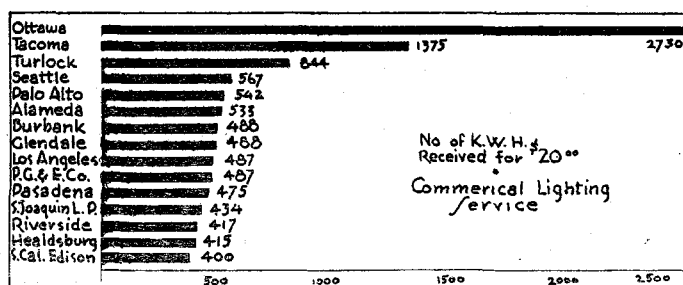
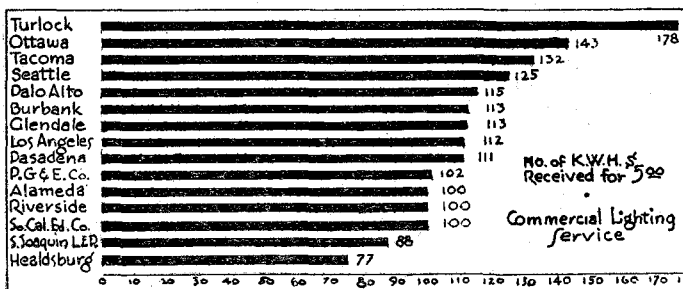
These two charts show the amount of industrial power obtainable for \$15 and for \$60. Pacific Gas and Electric, San Joaquin Light and Power, and Southern California Edison are private companies.

bookkeeping purposes) the cities, operating with low-paid management, make from 8½ per cent net to 35½ per cent net profit every year, the average being well over 20 per cent.

This theoretical tax allowance of 10½ per cent has no real significance, however, as *all* of the net profit of the municipal plants is used for city purposes. None goes out as dividends. What the private companies pay is an involuntary contribution to the cost of government, which we call a tax; the profits on operation made by the cities are all voluntary contributions for the same ends, and remove the necessity for a tax to raise the amount of this contribution. These are the sums that make "tax-free cities." In California there are none such, for the cities have adopted the policy of reducing rates and thus giving a wider usefulness to electric energy, but as we have seen, even at the lower rates great profits are made. Some statistics gathered just before the crash by Bird and Ryan in their book "Public Ownership on Trial" show that the net profits of the public electric plants aggregate over 30 per cent of the amount raised by taxation in the same cities. The results of later years show substantially the same percentage. The net profits of the public plants have suffered less from the depression than almost any private business, and their net profits are approximately the same as three or four years ago. Those cities which also distribute gas make a comparable showing, so that if we add to the profits made from the sale of electricity those to be made by selling gas and water and giving telephone service at fair rates, the mystery of the tax-free city is solved.

(This is the fourth of a series of articles on electric power and the consumer. The fifth will appear in an early issue.)

COMMERCIAL LIGHTING RATES



These two charts show the amount of power for commercial lighting obtainable for \$5 and for \$20. All the cities listed own their own power plants. Pacific Gas and Electric, San Joaquin Light and Power, and Southern California Edison are private companies.

The Hitler Myth—a Forecast

By OSCAR JASZI

NO one with any historical knowledge of the rise of Horthy in Hungary, or of how Mussolini came into power in Italy, can have the smallest doubt that very soon Adolf Hitler will emerge as a bulwark of European equilibrium, a bellicose leader for peace, a pet child of international capitalism, and a staunch defender of Western civilization against the Soviets. This conclusion was implicitly stated only recently by the Hungarian Premier, Julius Gömbös, when at a sumptuous banquet of the government party he declared that "what Germany is going through now Hungary experienced in 1919, while today it is a picture of law and order."

Who could be more justified in such a conclusion than the eminent Hungarian statesman? It was His Excellency who in that stormy period of 1919 organized the white terroristic bands which murdered Jews, Socialists, and Communists in wholesale fashion, clubbed all adverse public opinion, drove out the Jewish students from the universities, put their own adherents into all offices and influential business positions, discarded the old parliament, and made the proletarian class a tolerated political organization and an obedient instrument in the hands of the government. And when all this was done, peace and harmony settled over the lacerated country. There is now no need for terrorism or extra-legal means, because terrorism and extra-legal means have been legalized.

The mechanism runs admirably. The rich Jews are now more powerful than ever, and the poor Jews participate democratically in the starvation level of the Gentile proletariat and small peasantry. Even the so-called parliamentary system has been maintained, for the open ballot and the gendarmerie make it possible to elect any man who is a supporter of the government. No public meetings are tolerated, and the villages are guarded by armed force against "unscrupulous" demagogues. There can be no strike in this happy country, because an immense reserve army of the jobless menaces even the starvation wages of the employed. Higher education has been purged of Marxist doctrines and similar scientific bacilli; and racial-national science is no longer opposed by disagreeable aliens. If this has been done on a small scale in feudal Hungary, and on a far larger scale in semi-capitalistic Italy, why should it not be done in the heart of Western Europe, with an efficiency appropriate to the Prussian genius?

The legend of a glorious national revolution is already being created. Hitler, like Mussolini, came to power with the help of the army and police, and with the active support of the head of the state and the most influential military and bureaucratic circles, and neither Hitler nor any of his fellow-leaders risked his life in conquering the state. But the new history will paint in the most glowing colors the heroic achievements of the Nazis, which are comparable to Mussolini's March on Rome (G. Salvemini has abundantly shown that the leader of the Fascisti made his triumphal entry into the Holy City in a sleeping-car). From then on, events will move in something like the following fashion.

September, 1933. A distinguished group of American university professors, recently in Germany under the auspices of some German navigation companies to study the "atrocities campaign," make a declaration. Though there have been, say these eminent men, some minor excesses—natural and inevitable in a time of national upheaval—Germany is all right, and foreigners enjoy the perfect hospitality of this people of poets and thinkers. At the same time the professors vigorously report that they have not seen a single Jew clubbed down or maltreated before the Hotel Adlon. Of course they have not visited the concentration camps in which Socialists, Communists, and pacifists are doing compulsory work; but that little episode is surely not important in view of the growing prosperity of Germany.

November, 1933. An editorial in the New York *Daily Planet* states that the spirit of industry is returning to Germany and that capital, unencumbered by social legislation, has splendid prospects of expansion. There are mildly complimentary allusions to Hitler. It is hinted that he begins to behave like a real statesman and that the spirit of anti-Semitism is ebbing. Some of the greatest Jewish business men, it is pointed out, have uttered unqualified praises of the "savior" of Central Europe from bolshevism.

December, 1933. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University has a much-discussed luncheon party with Hitler. The great scholar discloses his newest peace plan to the dictator and is agreeably surprised by the sympathy with which the Nazi leader greets his ideas. A perfect diplomat, President Butler does not even mention those pacifist colleagues of his in Germany who are still in internment camps, because the chief principle of the eminent scholar is not to discuss the internal situation of a foreign country.

March, 1934. The dailies announce the appearance of a sensational book written by six outstanding American political scientists, entitled "The New Corporative State in Germany." In this splendid collection of essays our leading scientists show how Germany has opened new roads toward democracy and how Hitler and his friends have achieved a kind of synthesis of Hegel, Gierke, and Othmar Spann. To be sure, no one in Germany is allowed to express any dissenting opinion, but it cannot be doubted that democracy has found through the Prussian organization new and unprecedented means of self-expression.

September, 1934. The Pope concludes a new concordat with the German Reich. The Holy Father exhorts the Catholics to cooperate in the national unification of Germany, in the spirit of love and harmony, with due regard for other races. Certain wicked foreign papers comment on the great event under the head, "God Again with the Stronger Battalions."

December, 1935. A sensational speech by Adolf Hitler arouses much comment. It carries the headline, "The Reception of the Jews in Germany." In this address of a brilliant statesman Hitler cautions his followers against too much anti-Semitism; now that all foreigners are out of office and no longer occupy chairs of learning, he makes a distinction

between patriotic and Marxist Jews. For the first, he advocates a certain amount of limited toleration for the benefit of the Teutons.

February, 1936. Emil Ludwig makes his first trip to Germany since his expulsion. The fruit of this return is a book, "Gespräche mit Hitler," in which the noted historian describes the political, metaphysical, and religious opinions of the great German leader, who has for so long been lamentably misunderstood by the hysterical public.

August, 1936. Three-fourths of the concentration camps are disbanded, owing to the fact that the most wicked Communists have died, while the better elements have been converted to true German principles. Unfortunately, the Minister of Propaganda states, some camps must be retained for new criminals who continue to appear in spite of the enlightening influence of the corporative state. Signor Mussolini is more happily situated. He need not maintain such camps at home within Italy, since he has the Lipari

Islands for such purposes. The reason for Germany's imperfect pacification is the stealing of her colonies.

January, 1937. Some of the influential Powers in the League of Nations, becoming more and more friendly to Germany under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald, advocate the necessity of giving a new colony to Germany for purposes of peace, in return for her good-will in international cooperation. This suggestion is further supported by the need of Germany for a place to put her irreconcilable Communists, that she may refrain from spoiling the beauty of the German landscape with barbed-wired internment camps.

While this series of events is taking place, all the peaceful states of Europe will continue their race for armaments, and the murmur of the oppressed proletariat will become more and more menacing. The dictatorships must either go to war or face open rebellion. There can be no doubt as to their choice.

The Colleges Renounce War

By HAROLD SEIDMAN

THE student pacifist campaign inaugurated by the Brown University *Daily Herald* has aroused enthusiastic support among college students throughout the country. Columbia University was the first to respond to the *Herald's* suggestion of a college campaign against war; Princeton and Bucknell soon followed. Active campaigns are now being carried on at about ninety universities and colleges. Every college and university in the United States will probably do some sort of anti-war work during the coming months.

Campaigns at the City College in New York City and the University of Nebraska were stopped by the threat of withdrawal of appropriations by the city and State. As the editor of the *Daily Nebraskan* wrote: "It is unfortunate that a university must be so subservient to mass opinion on account of the necessity for support from State resources." A more liberal stand has been taken in most of the colleges, notably at Brown, where in spite of much criticism the administration has not attempted in any way to interfere with the pacifist activities of the *Brown Daily Herald*.

Increasing militarist propaganda in newsreels, yellow journals, and certain magazines was responsible for the decision of a group of students at Brown that something must be done immediately to prevent the United States from plunging into another war which might well destroy civilization. A newsreel advocating the building up of the fleet provided the immediate spark. Needless to say, the *Herald's* campaign aroused a storm of criticism among the conservative citizens of Rhode Island. William A. Needham, Providence attorney and so-called World War veteran, led the attack. "It is immature, false, pernicious, and dishonorable, positively vicious," said Mr. Needham. "I know the horrors of war far better than they do—these immature minds which do not know the smell of powder or the sound of an enemy shot. This is a foreign movement of communistic tendencies."

Mr. Needham neglected to say where he had obtained his intimate knowledge of the "horrors of war." In July,

1918, Mr. Needham joined the navy. He was commissioned as a lieutenant and sent to the naval gun factory in Washington. After he had learned about guns, Lieutenant Needham was transferred to the Boston Navy Yard, where he was put in charge of cable inspection. When the war ended, Mr. Needham was still in the Boston Navy Yard. It is possible that one can learn about the "horrors of war" in a navy yard, but certainly Lieutenant Needham never heard an enemy shot.

Others were equally horrified that students should protest against giving their lives to make the world safe for the steel magnates and munitions manufacturers. Cowards, reds, corrupters of youth, conspirators against the United States, Grover Cleveland Bergdolls—these were only a few of the epithets hurled at those students who dared to question the efficacy of war as a method for settling international disputes. Mrs. Paul FitzSimons, president of the Newport County Women's Republican Club, had "no words to express her scorn and contempt for those who would corrupt the youth of the nation to cowardice." "I am not in favor of war," she said, "but we must have an army and navy to protect our commerce and nationals abroad, for until the soul of man is purged of jealousy and ambition there is going to be war." As a result of the furor raised by the "patriots," the State legislature in all its dignity decided to investigate. In the meantime, although those who attacked the Brown pacifists obtained most of the newspaper space, many prominent people flocked to their support. A large group of well-known Providence lawyers offered their services to the students. Letters poured in from alumni in all sections of the country urging the *Daily Herald* to hold its ground.

Realizing, apparently, that the legislature had been rather hasty, the investigating committee has exonerated the *Daily Herald* of the charges of communism and treason without holding any hearings. The committee report, however, reflects the smug attitude of many of our elders. It states that "the embryonic editors were apparently toying with ideas,"

and prophesies that "they, actuated by the principle of *anticipatory threatened invasion*, like Brown men of other years, would be among the first to answer the call to the colors."

Experienced peace workers told us that we would do well to obtain two hundred pacifist signatures at Brown. Approximately four hundred undergraduates in this conservative New England school have already signed the pledge not to bear arms except in case of invasion of the mainland, and only half the school has been covered. The captain of the football team, an All-American quarterback, a Rhodes scholar, and most of the other prominent men on the campus are members of the peace committee and enthusiastic workers for the cause. Pacifism is becoming respectable in the colleges.

The primary purpose of the campaign instituted at Brown is not merely to obtain pledges but to educate undergraduates, both men and women. A member of the peace committee at Brown who has in his possession a book containing photographs of the "glories" of war speaks to each student individually. If a student refuses to sign, he is asked to state his reasons. The number of men converted by these discussions was surprising. Some students who withheld their signatures for two hours became ardent workers afterwards and persuaded other men to sign.

The answers were very revealing. The majority of those who refused to sign also refused to state reasons. They just "felt" that one should fight for his country if called upon but they didn't know why. "War is a necessary evil," "pledges are useless," "we must protect our interests," "we must protect our possessions," "it is better to fight abroad than at home," "we owe something to our country," "we should not make any decision until the time of crisis arrives," "the American Revolution and Civil War were good wars," "the women should preserve the peace," "it's cowardly and radical," were some of the reasons offered. Several parents ordered their sons to remove their names from the petitions. Many students expressed sympathy with the movement but said they could not sign because of previous obligations to the R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C., and others stated that if it were known that they were pacifists they could not make any progress in local politics.

Originally 145 colleges were invited by the *Daily Herald* to join in the peace campaign. Now, through the cooperation of the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, the movement is spreading to every college in the United States. Students are offered the choice of signing either the Brown pledge or the absolute Oxford pledge.

Conservatives find it difficult to comprehend that American students are extending their interests beyond football, liquor, and sex. Even today the average college man does not read a newspaper regularly, but the great interest aroused by the peace campaign augurs well for the future. The American college student may be finally emerging from his mental lethargy. The results of the World War have shown him that all wars are futile and sponsored by selfish interests. The Needhams and the FitzSimonses are effectively demonstrating that only united and forceful action can preserve peace. In the Kellogg-Briand Pact sixty nations have renounced war as an instrument of national policy, and American college students demand that this pact be upheld. It will take more than flag-waving and bugle calls to empty the colleges for another war.

Traveling Light

II. More than Sight-Seeing

By JOHN ROTHSCILD

PEOPLE of taste generally feel themselves superior to group travel. They shrink from being herded. They fear abridgment of their freedom to go where they like and see what they enjoy. Few realize that in a small congenial party one may actually have more freedom of movement, see more, and have a better time than if one travels independently.

A college professor writes to a travel organization: "We found that everywhere we went on the second trip [independent] we had to take one of the big sight-seeing buses, which meant that we did all our sight-seeing, not in groups of twelve or thirteen, but in crowds of seventy or more." The organized tour may save money, nerves, and time. Also it often affords opportunities for meeting notable personalities, seeing unusual places, attending special events—opportunities which cannot be arranged for private individuals. The following trips are suggestive of the best in group travel for the summer of 1933.

Below our borders lies a land of vivid beauty, stranger to Americans than countries half around the world—a modern state emerging from the civilization of medieval Spain and the ancient Indian civilizations of this continent. The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America conducts an annual seminar in Mexico which provides an approach to Mexico's picturesque fascination as well as an insight into her history and her problems. The seminar this year will be held in Cuernavaca and Mexico City from July 8 to 28. The program includes lectures and round tables on archaeology, economics, literature, arts and crafts, international relations, and history, and field trips within a radius of a hundred miles. The trip can be made by steamer or by rail, the steamer being less expensive and much more pleasant. The round-trip rate for the whole period is \$398.50 from New York, including steamer, hotels, transportation in Mexico, and meals except in Mexico City. Rates for rail travel and for a shorter period in Mexico will be given by the committee at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

American Boys Abroad is an enterprise addressed to boys of senior-high-school and junior-college age. Dr. and Mrs. Sven V. Knudsen of 248 Boylston Street, Boston, direct the groups. Sailing on July 5 the boys travel through five European countries and spend a week as guests of private families in Holland. Dr. Knudsen has taken 800 boys abroad since 1927. This year a group of girls will enjoy the advantages which Dr. Knudsen offers. Members of the groups must be recommended by educators or by persons known to Dr. Knudsen. The rate is \$335 round trip from New York for boys under nineteen years and \$375 for boys over nineteen. The trip lasts eight weeks.

The seventh Cultural Expedition through Pacific Asia commanded by Upton Close will embark this summer from Vancouver in two sailings, on June 17 and July 1. The expedition spends thirty-two days in China and Japan—not in the ports that tourists usually see but in inland towns and cities. A series of lectures on shipboard, meetings with

Chinese and Japanese personalities, intelligently conducted sight-seeing, the intimate knowledge of the Orient which Upton Close possesses, are the distinguishing features of this trip. The expedition breaks up into parties of twenty-five for land travel, each with American leaders and native guides. Costs are \$675 for the July 1 sailing and \$720 for the June 17 sailing, which latter includes a longer cruise with calls at Honolulu, Hong Kong, and Manila. Application should be made to Upton Close Expeditions, 333 East Seventeenth Street, New York.

The International Student Service (140 Nassau Street, New York) sponsors a sixty-three-day trip for young men under the leadership of Kenneth Holland, its executive secretary. High lights are a steamer trip up the Rhine, a four-day canoe trip down the Danube, hikes in the Bavarian and Swiss Alps, the International Student Service Conference at Ettal, special scenes from the Oberammergau Passion Play, a lake trip from Geneva to Lausanne. The cost is \$375 for the round trip from New York, and the party sails on June 24.

The League of Nations Association plans a European trip for those who wish to make their holiday count in knowledge of world affairs. The Institute of International Relations in Geneva is the focal point. The group will spend a month in Europe and Russia. The cost from New York back to New York is \$545. The tour has been organized in conjunction with World Acquaintance Travel, Inc., of 56 West Forty-fifth Street, New York.

The American People's College in Europe is a most seductive educational institution which makes study as painless as possible. Students combine travel in other European countries with their resident work at Oetz in the Austrian Tyrol. This year the college offers three weeks of residence in Oetz, two weeks of travel in Europe, and the round-trip steamship passage for a total of \$344. The study period includes easy hiking and mountain climbing. Longer study and travel periods up to fourteen months are offered for less than a thousand dollars. The travel part of the tour is under the management of the Pocono Study Tours, 55 West Forty-second Street, New York.

The Open Road, 56 West Forty-fifth Street, announces over forty groups which will travel in Europe or the Soviet Union or both this summer. Among these the party headed by General Victor A. Yakhontoff is of special interest because of the leader. General Yakhontoff was a soldier and diplomat under the czarist regime and a member of the Kerensky Government. He revisited Soviet Russia in 1929 and 1931, and so is familiar with the new Russia as well as the old. The round-trip rate for his party is \$675, with thirty-two days in Russia.

The League for Industrial Democracy sponsors a fourth annual tour through the Open Road. The group will spend six weeks in Europe and Russia under the leadership of Professor Colston E. Warne, of Amherst College. The subject for study is Socialism, Fascism, and Capitalism in Europe; the cost of the round trip is \$445.

The Open Road is organizing a students' tour of Palestine based on stays in workers' settlements and colonies. Travel in Palestine, a country of short distances and good roads, is by motor bus.

A peace study tour for teachers, lecturers, and lay students of international affairs has been arranged through

the Open Road by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Seven weeks of travel through Europe and Russia, with transatlantic passage, cost \$630.

(This is the second appearance of a column of travel information which is being run at intervals in The Nation. The list of unusual tours of special interest to Nation readers will be continued next week.)

In the Driftway

THE menace of the airplane to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is becoming acute. It reached a high-water mark in acuteness some weeks ago when an airplane landed, not intentionally, in the midst of one presumably happy home, which it demolished, and then rolled on to destroy a second house, killing ten or a dozen innocent—shall we call them under-standers? It was at that moment that the Drifter decided to cooperate in a project put forward by a correspondent in San Francisco, Ernst Bacon. Mr. Bacon is concerned with preserving not only human life but what inviolability still remains of the human ear.

Quite apart [he writes] from its potentialities as a weapon of destruction, the airplane is already such an offense to one's sensibilities that the prospect of an eventual Henry Fordian production is utterly appalling.

The automobile has long been a vehicle with which the careless and the insolent could annoy and abuse their walking fellow-men without fear of retaliation. And now one man may indulge his arrogant pleasure in swooping over cities, disturbing entire populations with his waspish dronings. Let an army officer decide to whoop up interest in the air force by staging a little sham battle, and all safety laws regulating the height of flying are suspended, work below is stopped, motorists collide, and men go mad.

There is still today some distinction left between city and country, some few regions in which quiet prevails, but I fear this happy state will not last much longer. Friends of mine who had spent four days getting into the heart of the high Sierras were surprised one afternoon to see—and hear—a plane bringing a party from Hollywood for an afternoon's fishing, landing on one of the lakes.

The popular myth that flying brings a new freedom, offers new sensations and experiences, has been pretty well settled by now. To those who have neither faith nor interest in such a bauble, and who still possess remnants of ears and nerves, I offer membership in the Society for the Suppression of Airplanes. The offices will be located under Niagara Falls.

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THE most alarming thing in Mr. Bacon's letter is the Hollywood fishing expedition. The Drifter has always comforted himself with the thought that the overwhelming flood of automobiles—horns, stench, stupid drivers, and all—could never reach certain high and quiet places. Never in his wildest nightmares has he pictured a movie actress fishing in one of his favorite glacial lakes. Now the danger of attack from above threatens his last refuge. There is only one thing to do. When the Drifter sees, say Jean Harlow, stepping out of a plane on to the unsullied snows of Heaven's Peak he will take a flying leap off the other side.

THE DRIFTER

Mr. Lewisohn Raises a Storm

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

As a literary critic Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn has few living superiors. But unfortunately, one looks in vain in his discussions of political and social problems for a display of those qualities of clear thinking, restraint, and understanding of the subject matter which distinguish his critical writings. Mr. Lewisohn's diatribe against Hitlerism, in a recent number of *The Nation*, not only matches in emotional abandon the utterances of Hitler himself, but is so naive and unrealistic in its political and psychological assumptions that it could be dismissed entirely were it not that Mr. Lewisohn's role of a latter-day prophet in Israel makes it advisable to examine and evaluate this latest encyclical.

Such an examination leads inevitably to the conclusion that Mr. Lewisohn, in making his frenetic demand for racial isolation, is performing a distinct disservice not only to millions of Jews, but to those millions of non-Jews in every land who believe that the gradual breaking down of national, racial, and religious barriers is an essential part of any program for the establishment of an ordered and peaceful society.

On its very face, Mr. Lewisohn's ill-considered pronouncement is invalidated by its own inconsistencies. In one breath he boasts of the Jewish contributions to German culture, and in the next denounces the German Jews for not remaining aloof from the activities in which they have won distinction. And his fervent plea for Jewish solidarity is not in tune with his complacent willingness to abandon the Jewish Communists to their fate.

It is all very well for Mr. Lewisohn to urge his fellow-Jews to throw themselves into battle, cryptically shouting *Shmah Israel*, but like most generals when they order their shock-troops into action, Mr. Lewisohn is comfortably installed in his Staff Headquarters at a safe distance from the front-line trenches. One remembers, too, that he is a comparatively recent convert to intransigent Zionism, and that his war-time resignation from a Middle Western college was perhaps not unrelated to his ardent defense of that German culture which he now berates other German Jews for adopting. If I seem to harp upon these inconsistencies, it is merely in order to emphasize my belief that his position is that of a weaver of romantic daydreams—a cloistered man, who shuts his eyes to the realities of life. In a man of lesser attainments such passionate advocacy of an isolationist policy might even be regarded as the rationalization of personal problems of adjustment.

At any rate, if Mr. Lewisohn were as familiar with the psychology of the Jews as he is with their history, he would be less insistent in his demand for isolation. The fact is that most Jews are like the majority of people of any race, creed, or nationality. That is to say, they are not heroes, martyrs, or egomaniacs, but simple, unpretentious folk who are less interested in abstract problems of culture or of philosophy than in the concrete business of daily living. They want security for themselves and their families, economic opportunity, and peaceable and friendly intercourse with their neighbors. They have the same natural affection for the land of their birth or adoption as do any other people and the same healthy tendency to accept the prevailing *mores* and idiom. They may muse more or less tenderly over the traditions and past glories of their race, but in practice they identify themselves with their political and economic environment rather than with their racial group. In so far as they have succeeded in this process of adjustment, they have prospered; in so far as they have pursued the policy of self-segregation which Mr. Lewisohn advocates, they have laid themselves open to the hostility which the alien always incurs.

After all, it is some two thousand years since Jerusalem fell. As well try to recapture its somewhat dubious glories as to rebuild and reanimate the Parthenon. Mr. Lewisohn's Judaism is as unthinking and as destructive as Hitler's Teutonism. In fact, it is of a piece with it: a reversion to the superstitions and prejudices of a bygone age rather than an intelligent acceptance of the actualities of the modern world. Obviously, it is as ridiculous to ask Einstein, Freud, and Bruno Walter to speak a dead tongue and court racial martyrdom with Mr. Lewisohn's barbaric battle cry on their lips, as it would be to expect James Weldon Johnson and W. E. B. Du Bois to practice cannibalism and voodoo, or Will Rogers and former Vice-President Curtis to put on war paint and charge down Pennsylvania Avenue, brandishing tomahawks.

On the whole, the position of the Jew throughout the world today is better than it has ever been. True, anti-Semitism exists everywhere, but it is progressively diminishing and will continue to diminish in exact ratio to the Jew's adaptation to his environment. Mr. Lewisohn's Zionism is a utopian fantasy, as anyone can determine for himself by trying to find a common denominator for Einstein, Otto H. Kahn, a Rumanian rabbi, Benny Leonard, Leon Trotzky, a Palestinian farmer, George Jean Nathan, Gyp the Blood, Lord Reading, a town beggar in the Atlas Mountains, Max D. Steuer, a Bronx sweatshop worker, and Fannie Brice.

I yield to no one in my detestation of Hitler and all his works. But the way to defeat Hitler is not by answering him with an appeal to the same narrow clannishness which he personifies. The hope of the world lies in the determination of humane and enlightened men and women everywhere to join hands in a common effort to liberate all the peoples of the earth from the stifling heritage of racial and national fear, suspicion, and hatred, in order that society may be reorganized upon broad humanitarian principles. Mr. Lewisohn, by raising obsolete battle cries, serves only to obscure the basic social, economic, and political problems which must be solved if Western civilization is to survive.

New York, May 4

ELMER RICE

Jerusalem Would Be Lonely

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

It is only natural that such a noisy lament as that which Ludwig Lewisohn utters in your issue of May 3 should be illogical. At a time when schools throughout the United States are holding anti-superstition classes, when liberal Christians are omitting religious training from their children's education, when physicists and anthropologists need no longer conclude their works with an avowal of their belief in the Lord—as J. G. Frazer did a score of years ago in "The Golden Bough"—the Jews, says Mr. Lewisohn, are to go back to "Hear, O Israel," Jerusalem, and what, in an English-language publication, he quaintly styles the "Shabbath."

This is the ancient cry of the rabbis, who, when their people were offered equal rights with other people here and there throughout their history, invariably replied that they preferred their flocks to remain segregated and without citizens' rights, so that they could attend more closely to their ancient customs and that "moral grandeur" which Mr. Lewisohn still advocates as the finest poultice for such troubles as the present antics of the Nazis. But what is Mr. Lewisohn going to do about restoring

the belief that Israel is going to answer his chosen folk, which was so potent a portion of that ancient "moral grandeur," and the equally strong belief in the coming of him whom Mr. Lewisohn would undoubtedly call, quaintly, the Messhiach?

To many Jews like myself, who are not particularly abject or ignoble either, Mr. Lewisohn's type of "moral grandeur" is vastly old-fashioned, and not nearly so exciting as the various mental acrobatics which science offers us. As for running to Jerusalem, we, who are as fond of a more Western type of culture as Turgenev, find the idea of exile in Jerusalem, for all its Y. M. C. A.'s and tennis clubs, as sad and hopeless and utterly lonely as Comus Bassington found his particular part of Africa.

Nyack, N. Y., May 4

ROSE CAYLOR

The Deleterious Myth

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Ludwig Lewisohn may be a great artist, but he is no anthropologist nor even a statesman. I am with him when he denounces the unspeakable savagery of the present German government and the abject supineness of the people of Germany. But what can be his purpose in denouncing German Jews for considering themselves Germans or for their refusal to subscribe to the deleterious myth that the Jews constitute a separate race in Germany or anywhere else? Even if Mr. Lewisohn's implications were based on good anthropology—and they are not—what good would it do the Jews to further the cause of their enemies by admitting that they are everywhere an alien race? The present situation must be fought with courage and truth, not with insanity.

New York, May 5

EPHRAIM CROSS

There Is No Returning

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Jews are being persecuted, says Ludwig Lewisohn, even where they have become most completely assimilated with the people among whom they live; therefore let all Jews take warning and return to their spiritual heritage. And we are bidden to contemplate the moral iniquity of German Jews whose children were in school on a Saturday; if they had been good Jews, says Mr. Lewisohn in effect, they would not have been in school that day, and could not have been driven out!

As a matter of fact, German Jews were not fully assimilated. Always in Germany "der Jude" was separated from others, even if he was only partly Jewish. German Jews were kept apart from general German life as much as Christian Germans could keep them. They lost what Mr. Lewisohn calls their spiritual heritage not because they wanted to force themselves upon a people who did not want them, but because they were living in a modern, civilized world where that "spiritual heritage" of outworn superstitions was out of place. But German Jews, no matter how Germanized, still remained Jews, and were thus available as a scapegoat for Nazi blood-lust.

Just what would be the results of a return to the Jewish heritage? A strengthening of the differences between Jews and non-Jews, a perpetuation of ancient prejudices, and a still stronger persecution and hatred of Jews everywhere. The solution of the "Jewish problem" does not lie in any "returning." Problems are solved by progress, not by retrogression. Jews should continue to live the life of full citizens of the modern world, and demand their rights, not as Jews, but as human beings. Sooner or later their Christian neighbors will also be-

come human and leavened with enlightenment, and the Jews will get their rights. In Russia the Jewish problem has disappeared, because religion and capitalistic nationalism have been done away with; that way lies the Jewish future, and not in senile dreams of the good old days.

Newark, N. J., May 5

GEORGE L. TRAGER

Folk Mysticism

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Ludwig Lewisohn writes in *The Nation* of May 3 with his usual eloquence. It is difficult to see how anyone not a Nazi could be unmoved by his indictment of Nazi brutalities. In that part of his article dedicated to the Jews, however, I feel that his eloquence is tragically misused in the cause of a folk mysticism only a little less obscurantist, reactionary, and ill-founded than that against which he protests.

It is possible in these tragic times, when all nations, races, and governments face possibly insuperable difficulties affecting the destiny of millions of human beings, that Mr. Lewisohn really believes Jewish energies should be expended in protesting against the "brutal prohibition of *Shechitah* everywhere." However grossly ironical the incidental humane gesture on the part of Hitler in behalf of animals may appear, it is a fact that humane societies generally believe *Shechitah* is a needlessly cruel form of slaughtering and have protested against it on grounds that have nothing to do with race prejudice. If, as I believe, they are right in this, it is certainly within the province of any government to forbid such a practice, whether sanctioned by religion or not. Very few religions have not at some time or other sanctioned cruelties that to civilized persons are unthinkable.

As to the Jewish consciousness which he charges the German Jews with lacking, he is very close to saying to these incredibly persecuted people, "I told you so," and "Serves you right." He is right, of course, in saying that the situation is unparalleled and that earlier persecutions were of a "people of a strong spiritual and social solidarity." They were. Inevitably so, for they were persecutions of a people herded together in pales and ghettos. Does Mr. Lewisohn really feel nostalgia for such a past? His article was probably written before the fine and dignified gesture of Professor James Franck, who resigned his position as a protest against the degrading of Jewish citizens in Germany. It is a protest in which German Jews are the more justified because they have, once ghetto restrictions were removed, poured out their talents in the service of German life. They have been Germans—German Jews—just as in other countries they have been French, English, or American Jews. Mr. Lewisohn is on highly dangerous ground in suggesting that there is anything inherent in the Jewish heritage or the Jewish character that is inconsistent with such nationality and such citizenship. Not only Hitler and his lieutenants but Jew-baiters in all countries have taken a precisely similar stand.

According to Mr. Lewisohn the German Jews who refused to heed the warning he sounded in "Israel" "have nothing within them wherewith to bear their Jewish fate." Since when have suffering and persecution been monopolies of the Jewish people? "They whine," he says, "that they are Germans," whereas "their ancestors went forth in other ages to die with *Shmah Israel* on their lips." This exalted, egotistic masochism ignores alike the sufferings and the heroism of the Jews who have died in behalf of other causes—communism is one of them—and those of their German comrades in arms who are also tortured and hounded by the unspeakable Nazi regime.

And finally Mr. Lewisohn calls upon American Gentiles

to respect their Jewish friends "in proportion as they are Jews." That is, in so far as they observe the *Shabbath* rather than the Sabbath, observe dietary laws laid down some two thousand or more years ago for a nomad, desert population, and generally adhere to a Jewish fundamentalism in no way more enlightened than the Protestant fundamentalism of Dayton, Tennessee. He is probably right in feeling that there has been some abjectness on the part of Jewish assimilationists in their adoption of the folkways of the nationals among whom they dwell. Such abjectness and such racial aggressiveness as Mr. Lewisohn's are both the inevitable accompaniments of discrimination. One finds both these attitudes in every race and in every social group which is discriminated against. What one rarely finds, however, is so fine an intellect as Mr. Lewisohn's going down in such utter disarray before the impact of discrimination.

The best answer to Mr. Lewisohn is to be found in Emerson's fine lines quoted so approvingly by Mr. Lewisohn last year in his "Expression in America" as opposed to the usual "herd bleating" and "herd growling" of Americans, which are equally applicable to all "herd bleedings," Jewish or Nazi:

Is it not the chief disgrace in the world not to be an unit . . . not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand, of the party, the section to which we belong?

New York, May 4

MARTHA GRUENING

Other Correspondence

On the Farm Front

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Wisconsin farmers will declare an embargo on all farm produce beginning May 13 unless adequate legislative relief is secured before then, according to Walter M. Singler, the leader of the Wisconsin Cooperative Milk Pool. And there is no doubt that Singler and Arnold Gilberts, president of the Wisconsin unit of the Farm Holiday Association, have mobilized farm opinion behind them sufficiently to effect a serious shortage of farm produce if the strike is called. Three thousand farmers gathered in the municipal auditorium at Hartford and an overflow crowd of two thousand filled two other halls equipped with loud speakers to hear an address by Singler, who had just turned down an offer of arbitration.

In preparation for the strike, township captains have been selected for every important agricultural community, and a secret board of strategy has been appointed to act if the acknowledged leaders are enjoined by the courts from conducting the strike. Meanwhile, the Wisconsin legislature, forewarned by the previous milk strike, which nearly dried up the Milwaukee supply for the eight days from February 15 to 23, has prepared restrictive legislation. Under the projected laws mayors and sheriffs would be compelled to offer safe conduct to strike-breakers through pickets or assume personal liability for losses incurred within the provisions of the mob-liability law, which is being amended specifically to include damages suffered on public highways because of strikes. Another move contemplates the licensing of all milk producers so that striking farmers could be threatened with revocation of license.

While the legislature, which contains an unusual number of inexperienced men, has assumed a truculent air toward the farm leaders, Governor Albert G. Schmedeman, under close supervision from his executive adviser, has secured from the Borden and National Dairy condensaries an increase of fifteen cents a

hundred pounds in the price of milk. This brings the price up to \$1 per hundred, which meets just halfway the Cooperative Milk Pool's demand for \$2 per hundred (about 4½ cents a quart). The strike leaders say that other produce prices must be boosted correspondingly. Mortgages must be refinanced for long terms, and interest, "the farmers' greatest curse," must be cut to 1½ per cent.

The Milwaukee press, with the exception of the *Leader*, has set the pace for the State press, assuming a cool attitude toward the strike when it has not openly opposed it. The few La Follette Progressives and Socialists who survived the Democratic landslide last fall have seized upon the apparent reluctance of the Administration to support ameliorating measures. The Socialist Party has even gone so far as to issue a statement indorsing in full the demands of the Farm Holiday Association.

The farmers themselves, tired of unfulfilled promises, seem determined to demand a show-down. The recent move toward inflation, according to Gilberts, will not pacify them. Their trouble goes deeper than merely low commodity prices. And if previously the farmers have lacked leaders with a grasp of the whole economic situation, that charge cannot now be maintained. "The whole system must be reformed," these strike leaders say in effect. "If this holiday can only bring us a breathing-spell, just a little rest from the mortgage collector, we can carry on our educational program. Then in a few years we shall have an organization whose membership will know what is needed to effect a permanent solution."

Wisconsin farmers have thrown down the gauntlet to Congress. Interstate cooperation is expected to follow the national farm conference in Des Moines on May 3. It looks as if only fundamental legislative action can avert food shortages, rioting, and probable bloodshed.

Milwaukee, Wis., May 2

CHARLES W. TAYLOR

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Young Men and War

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

You referred in a recent issue to the resolution of the Oxford University Union that its members will not in any circumstances fight for king and country. I wonder if your readers are aware that in union and debating societies in every other important English and Welsh university (I am not quite sure about the Scottish), with the exception of Birmingham, the same or a closely similar resolution has been passed by large majorities. Letters from economists and others which I have recently received speak of these resolutions as the only encouraging event that has occurred in Great Britain for years. The newspapers have attempted to suggest that in the coeducational universities the votes of women students were responsible for carrying the resolutions. Investigation has shown this to be quite untrue. Indeed, in some cases the only women speakers who took part in the debates supported the cause of militarism.

Denver, Colo., April 18 BRITISH UNIVERSITY GRADUATE

Books Wanted

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

This is an appeal for books, from the heart of the anthracite region. This town of 17,000 people has no library of any sort. A group of active and intelligent young miners are busily at work, in the unemployed league and in other groups, in an effort to arouse their fellow-workers to the necessity of action. They have done splendid work, but they are severely handicapped by the lack of social and economic books. They hope

to build up an adequate workers' library which can be expanded to a large circulating library later.

Anyone who wishes to help this work along may send books to John Coveleskie, chairman Workers Protective League, Market Street, Mt. Carmel, Pennsylvania.

Mt. Carmel, Pa., May 1

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

Misusing the Radio

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

On Wednesday evening, April 12, I listened to Edwin C. Hill in his broadcast entitled *The Human Side of the News*, over the Columbia network. This was the second broadcast which Mr. Hill devoted to a discussion of Russia and the trial of the six Englishmen. In both talks he had no qualms whatever about mixing fancy with fact. For example, he described in hair-raising terms the room and atmosphere where the trial took place, painted the prosecutor as a very ogre, and insinuated that the Englishman who confessed to his guilt did so as a result of nervous breakdown brought on by third-degree methods. I, personally, have no knowledge of the truth or the falsity of these statements, but I seriously doubt if Mr. Hill, here in New York City, could have known with such amazing certainty the details concerning a trial which was then going on.

Mr. Hill is heard by millions of people, and he is especially dangerous because he has a fascinating radio voice and a remarkable ability for description. His talks carry the misleading title *The Human Side of the News*. Too frequently he merely airs his own point of view. Such misuse of the radio is surely doing more harm than good at a time when international understanding is so vitally needed.

New York, May 1

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Books, Drama, Art

Roots

By RUTH LECHLITNER

From the vital seed
Locked in womb-tunnels blacker than the night,
Reach the slow roots of sight:
The delicate tactile ferns, the webs that feed
In dark veins swollen with the blind dark rain,
Seeking, shall trace again
Those subterranean patterns, deep and mute,
Reshaped in branch and leaf, bright flower and fruit.

The eyes that learn
To look at roots with second sight, may see
The stark perfection of the lifted tree,
The dream that is the blossom. They shall turn
From broken fruit and withered leaf to find
Here the whole fruit, the faultless leaf designed:
No form shall vanish; changeless and secure
No beauty perish while these roots endure.

Adultery in Cambridge

Great Circle. By Conrad Aiken. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

MR. AIKEN'S new novel makes interesting reading, but it must be confessed that the tale is neither so original as some of his recent short stories nor so unhackneyed as it would have seemed a few years ago. In the best of his shorter pieces—like, for example, *Silent Snow*, *Secret Snow*—Mr. Aiken has a subject matter and a method entirely his own. He creates an eerie mood by the calm, insane coherence with which he communicates the feel of a pathological mental state, and it would be impossible not to recognize the work as unmistakably his. This novel, on the other hand, has all the chief characteristics of a fairly large school. Well as it is written, one classifies it immediately, and I doubt, even, if one could be sure from the text alone who the author was.

This air of being typical rather than strictly original hangs about both the story and the method by which it is told. Perhaps the highly disorganized young hero, with his mind full of tag ends of culture ironically irrelevant to his intimate experiences, has never been made a young Harvard instructor before. Perhaps, indeed, the most original part of the book is just that part which is concerned with suggesting life in a shabby academic bohemia inhabited by struggling pedagogues who escape from the respectable routine of their everyday life only by means of home-made cocktails, cinemas, and burlesque shows. But if one has never seen this hero embodied as a Harvard instructor before, one knows him pretty well, and one is not surprised to learn that his emotional crisis is precipitated by the discovery of the not very passionate adultery committed by the wife whom he loves with only a stale affection and his most intimate friend. Moreover, the method, with its stream of consciousness, its Freudian dreams, and its ironic intermixture of short-hand references to classical or romantic clichés, is also not unfamiliar. These devices constitute the common denominator between, let us say, *"Ulysses"* and *"Antic Hay."* They have their uses, they are well handled by Mr. Aiken, and he, doubtless, has as good a right to use them as anyone else. But the fact remains that they have become pretty familiar, and that in the present book they do not

actually achieve a force or an immediacy as great as that achieved by the author when he uses a style more clearly his alone.

Indeed, the most striking thing about the whole book is the fact that one can now classify as easy and entertaining reading a novel written in this once esoteric manner, that we have learned to accept its elisions and its other conventions quite as easily as we accept the conventions utilized in more regular forms. No one who has read much contemporary fiction will find this book in any way difficult, or will, for that matter, be much surprised by the shabbiness of all the persons and all the passions represented. Perhaps the first fact merely proves the essential soundness of the method as such, merely proves that once the reader has learned how to read it and once the writer has actually mastered its possibilities, it is no more specialized or difficult than any other. But the fact that the small soul is so much taken for granted may give the critic longer pause. The secret infamies of the sub-average mind were once presented for the purpose of confounding those who insisted upon taking a too romantic view of human nature. They are not a particularly rewarding subject for repeated exploitation.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Why We Lynch

The Tragedy of Lynching. By Arthur Raper. University of North Carolina Press. \$2.50.

IT would have been impossible for the publishers of *"The Tragedy of Lynching"* to have chosen a more timely publication date. The tragically complicated Scottsboro case and, more recently, the dramatic refusal of Federal Judge James A. Lowell to return George Crawford, a Negro, from Massachusetts to Virginia for trial on a murder charge have focused the attention of the United States and of the world on black-white relations in the South. When one looks only at what occurred at Scottsboro in 1931 and at Decatur in 1933, the picture is almost completely a hopeless one. *"The Tragedy of Lynching"* contains much that is equally conducive to despair. But its significance lies in the fact that such a dissecting of mob murder could come and has come from out of the deep South. Every person who has been stirred by the Scottsboro and Crawford cases should read the book in order to understand the background of the social, economic, racial, and political forces which have made Scottsboro possible.

The ineffectiveness of law-enforcement officers, or their unwillingness to defend Negro prisoners, or, in many instances, their actual surrender to or connivance with lynching mobs is perhaps the most consistent note throughout the study. Here and there exceptions are to be noted, but it is certain that these will continue to be exceptions as long as these officers are dependent for election or reelection solely upon white voters, through disfranchisement of the Negro.

A group of distinguished Southerners, headed by Dr. George Fort Milton of Chattanooga and including in its membership outstanding white and colored Southerners, made the present study at the request of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Dr. Raper, who is research and field secretary of the commission, has done an excellent job. He and his associates have made detailed studies of each of the twenty-one lynchings of 1930. The picture given in these cases is also a picture of most of the 3,724 lynchings in the United States since 1889.

Practically all the usual myths about the causes of lynching, and a good many of those regarding the Negro himself, are effectively exploded. Is the individual Negro, as professional Southerners allege, more leniently treated in Southern courts? The answer is no. During an eighteen-month period in 1930-31

only thirteen of eighty-one persons executed in the South were white; all thirteen were convicted of murder. Sixty-eight Negroes were executed—fifty-seven for murder, eight for rape, and three for theft. Do most of the lynchings occur in the "black belt" where Negroes are most numerous? The answer is again in the negative. Are most of the Negro victims of mobs lynched for raping white women? Less than 16 per cent of those lynched were even *accused* of sex offenses. In 1931 only eight of twenty-one victims were charged with rape, and that year the proportion of victims accused of sex crimes was higher than in any year since lynching records have been kept. Mobs are learning that even liberal and emancipated whites, Northerners as well as Southerners, are less inclined to protest against lynchings when they are made to believe a white woman has been molested.

If "The Tragedy of Lynching" has a weakness, it is its insufficient emphasis upon the economic factor—the abject poverty of whites as well as Negroes. It does not pretend to be anything more than a factual examination of the lynchings of a given year, and it is all the more impressive because of the objectivity of its approach, and the fact that the authors are Southerners at last speaking out boldly against an intolerable crime. The book is especially to be recommended to those who are interested in learning whether indiscriminate and intemperate "mass action," directed without intelligence, is going to help or injure Negro and white victims of lynchings. "The Tragedy of Lynching" is a valuable guide for those who seek all the implications and contributory causes of lynching, who see that militant and determined action is necessary to overcome the deep-rooted reasons for the evil, but who, free from doctrinaire economic and political theorizing, want rather to end an evil than to unite white capitalists and white workers in a campaign against the black proletariat.

WALTER WHITE

A Pious Gesture

Joseph Smith. An American Prophet. By John Henry Evans. The Macmillan Company. \$4.

IN the current zeal to recapture their past Americans may well pull out from the shadows of obscurity and partisanship the figure of Joseph Smith. Two great religions originating on American soil, Mormonism and Christian Science, although unlike in almost every other respect, have both been remarkable in adhesive power and genius for organization, and akin in that each was founded by an extraordinarily dynamic personality, who, though living in recent times, has been enveloped in mystery and misunderstanding as baffling as that surrounding the progenitors of earlier faiths.

Not that there is any lack of testimony in regard to either Joseph Smith or Mrs. Eddy. There are 20,000 volumes on Joseph Smith in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City as against not many more than 2,600 on George Washington in the Library of Congress in Washington. But practically all existing books on Joseph Smith are written with a bias for or against his religious claims, and the man himself has been lost in the clash of controversy. Mr. Evans has tried, he says in his preface, to present the available facts without smothering them in opinion. He adds, "This, I believe, has never been done before."

It might have been more accurate to say "has never been done at all," for Mr. Evans cannot be said to have accomplished the difficult task. Although he discloses a wish to be fair in assembling his data and reaching his deductions that is in keeping with the best scientific spirit, he writes with an apostolic reverence which obscures Joseph Smith the man behind Joseph Smith the prophet. It would be unfair to say that

Mr. Evans is engaged throughout the book in fastening a halo about the head of his subject. Rather is he engaged in contemplating a halo which unconsciously he sees as already there.

There is this at least to be said of the muckraking school of biography, that by making its subjects men and women it makes them lovable or despicable—often both—and therefore human and interesting. Perhaps the fact that Mr. Evans writes as a Mormon should not disqualify him from presenting Joseph Smith as a man. Yet somehow it has disqualified him—that and other considerations. In a brave attempt to be picturesque he tells the story of Joseph Smith episodically rather than in straight narrative, but the chief result is that the reader often is hard put to it to follow the thread. Somehow the great human drama of the untutored farmer's boy who suffered the bitterest persecutions and an early death to establish a religion which today has upward of a million adherents has escaped the author's grasp.

Mr. Evans discloses his limitations significantly in his treatment of polygamy. To a Mormon polygamy is, of course, only a detail in a vast philosophy and a century of history. To an outsider, rightly or wrongly, it is nine-tenths of the picture, and Mr. Evans is badly advised to compress all he has to say of it in 10 of his 450 pages. Bernard Shaw, in his recent American address, characterized as a wonderful event in American history the imposition by Joseph Smith of polygamy upon his followers against all their previous religious education "for a purely political reason"—self-preservation by increased numbers.

It is a question whether that was Joseph Smith's intention when he himself began the practice of polygamy, secretly, in 1841—two years before his assassination—though there is no doubt that such was the purpose of Brigham Young when in 1852 he publicly promulgated the doctrine in Utah. Mr. Evans thinks Joseph Smith embraced polygamy as a measure of justice to women—to relieve the unmarried among them of the then about equally terrifying alternatives of spinsterhood or prostitution. However that may be, Mr. Evans says that Joseph Smith had had polygamy in mind for ten years before he began to practice it, had talked of it with friends, and that like many other supposed secrets the news had traveled considerably. It is a quaint conception of the function of a historian, therefore, to leave all mention of polygamy out of the narrative portion of the book and dismiss it in a few pages when considering separately the prophet's religious philosophy.

It may be that we shall have to wait for a non-Mormon to write a story of Joseph Smith which will raise the latter to a worthy status among unbelievers.

ARTHUR WARNER

What Gandhi Thinks

Gandhi Versus the Empire. By Haridas T. Muzumdar. With a Foreword by Will Durant. New York: Universal Publishing Company. \$3.50.

THIS is a book not only for people who are interested in Gandhi or in India but also for all who are troubled by the imminence, almost everywhere, of widespread violence and probable black reaction. For in it we have many of the most weighty and illuminating statements of the man who has done more than anyone else to show the power and practical effectiveness of non-violent moral struggle in settling great public questions.

The book is a careful compilation of the most important of Gandhi's statements since 1919, when he began his struggle for India's freedom, together with historical and explanatory matter by Dr. Muzumdar. The quoted material is clearly marked and separated from the commentary. There are Gandhi's statement

to the court at his trial in 1922; a number of extracts from his articles in his paper *Young India* during the winter and spring of 1930 preparatory to the beginning of the present struggle; his letter to the Viceroy announcing his intention to begin civil disobedience; his second letter to the Viceroy announcing further steps in the campaign; sundry statements to the Indian nation in regard to the conduct of the struggle; the famous Delhi Pact between himself and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin; all Gandhi's important speeches at the Round Table Conference; extracts from some of his talks to unofficial audiences in England at that time; and his radio talk to America. There are sixteen interesting pictures. Altogether it is a record of much value, not obtainable anywhere else in America.

The explanations by Dr. Muzumdar are very useful for readers who are not thoroughly familiar with the Indian situation and its history. His comment is heartily partisan, but so is most British writing on the subject. When truth is present a partisan flavor only adds interest. And no one who has any interest in a big moral issue can possibly be impartial.

The struggle in India is continuing, and the significance of Gandhi's personality and methods steadily grows in the imagination and thinking of the world. For real understanding and stimulus it is best to go to original sources such as are found in this book.

RICHARD B. GREGG

Bandholtz Among the Barons

An Undiplomatic Diary. By Major General Harry Hill Bandholtz. Edited by Fritz-Konrad Kruger. Columbia University Press. \$3.50.

IN the summer of 1919 the Supreme Council was anxious to finish its work, but no peace treaty with Hungary had been concluded. There was no recognized government to deal with. The Rumanians whom Hungarian patriots had invited to assist in defeating Bela Kun's regime had marched farther than was bargained for. They settled in Budapest and began to devote themselves to a thorough cleaning out of the country. The Hungarians pleaded with the Supreme Council to halt the occupation and the robbery, and Paris sent an Inter-Allied Military Mission to superintend Hungary's disarming and arrange the Rumanian withdrawal.

Early in August Major General Bandholtz arrived, heading the American Division. Nearly every day for about four months the mission issued requests, demands, orders—always called "ultimatums"—to the Rumanians to stop looting and to start withdrawing. Rumanian generals, commanders, the King himself, politely promised to comply, and continued to ignore the ultimatums. The mission appealed to the Supreme Council, which left the appeals unanswered except for four direct orders to the Rumanians, three of which were disregarded. But the fourth, containing the threat to disown the Rumanians as allies, did the trick. The retreat of the Rumanian troops began, and so did the terroristic reign of the Hungarian white army.

General Bandholtz's diary contains a daily entry until February 7, 1920. It covers one of the most tragic periods of our time, at one of its most dramatic points, yet it is written like an amusing story of some jovial uncle's visit to some romantic operetta land. Three items appear invariably every day—the name of the mission's presiding officer of the day, a statement of the everlasting ultimatums to the Rumanians, and a careful registry of where and with whom General Bandholtz ate his meals, often accompanied by ecstatic comment on the quality of food and wine. He expresses childish delight in exclusive clubs and in the aristocratic company which kept a glamorous cordon around him and the other members of the Inter-Allied Mission. He absorbed all the feudal prejudices, and saw and judged

events and personalities through the eyes of the reactionary company he was exclusively cultivating.

Meanwhile the Hungarian patrioteers harassed the liberals, pacifists, Jews, Socialists, and Communists—and prepared them for what was to make later one of the bloodiest pages of post-war history. In the course of his political mission to bring about a representative government which the Supreme Council could recognize, Sir George Clerk had to consult these harassed elements of the population. He reported the real state of affairs to the Supreme Council, and his reports were in direct contradiction to those of the military mission, which could see nothing wrong happening internally. General Bandholtz became angry at Sir George's unsoldierly weakness and practically coerced him into repudiating his reports. On those rare occasions when the General was confronted with actual victims of the incipient white terror, he warned the Hungarian authorities; but he carefully softened his reprimand by the assurance that he "could understand how the Hungarians would naturally feel sore over the fact that most of the Bolshevist leaders had been Jews." Male and female barons, counts, princes, dukes and "archie dukes" "float around" his office and his apartment in the Edelsheim Palace. They flatter him, they shower him with attentions, and he is their devoted servant.

The diary does not add to what has been published in previous biographies. But it does tell for the first time the origin of the fear that barred Count Karolyi for years from the United States. It was a Bandholtz cable to the State Department relating, on the basis of a story issuing from the Hungarian Foreign Office, the most idiotic hodge-podge about a Karolyi-Benes plot against the United States.

The editor of the diary has added to the Bandholtz manuscript an introduction and marginal notes which are in line with the worst feudal propaganda that has come out of Hungary since the collapse of the Karolyi regime.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

M. Herriot's Beethoven

La Vie de Beethoven. Par Edouard Herriot. Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 18 francs.

INQUISITIVE reporters, encircling Edouard Herriot during his recent diplomatic visit in Washington, neglected to ask him how he came to write this biography, which had coincidentally arrived in a new edition—the sixty-eighth since the first publication in 1929. The answer to that unuttered question lies within the book itself—implicit in the admiration that warms the text, and in the understanding brought sympathetically to bear upon the angularities of Beethoven's nature.

For this is no sprightly *vie romancée*, cutting clever figures on the ice of its subject, but a penetrating study of the man and his work. Disclaiming critical knowledge of music, M. Herriot proposes only "to seek to know and understand, the better to love him and receive his lessons, a being of the noblest genius." His search has been painstaking and earnest, overlooking no authority that might enlighten him. One need read no more than two chapters to discover that M. Herriot's disclaimer is far too modest. He may not be a trained musician, but he is patently an impassioned amateur of music who knows how to listen with his intellect as well as with his emotions. His comments on compositions reveal familiarity with structure and intuitive perception of tonal speech.

It was the statesman, however, and not the artistic amateur, who formulated the book—planned the opening scene at the Congress of Vienna, sketched the telling portraits of Metternich and Talleyrand, and set the stage in Prince Razumovski's palace for the entrance of "a certain musician who excited more curi-

osity than admiration." From the statesman comes the emphasis upon Beethoven's role as pacificator and prophet of universal brotherhood: "The art most suited to create an international language gets its first inspiration from the instincts of the race: it translates national characteristics, collects the songs flourishing in the soil." "Abstract internationalism is only a chimera; a real internationalism spreads by radiation."

Apparently in complete accord with those psychologists who maintain that the quality of a man's creative work can be deduced from his biography, M. Herriot attempts, with varying success, to relate Beethoven's compositions to events in his life. This is a simple matter with so clearly motivated a work as the "Eroica" symphony, but not so easy in the case, let us say, of the later string quartets. The problem of inspiration—the possibility that the springs of creative energy may be quite independent of externalities—is particularly fascinating in its application to Beethoven, whose work is superficially so like autobiography. M. Herriot overlooks the opportunity to examine the music for that quality which transcends the personal and extends into universality, and to question by what means the artist surpassed the man.

Concerning the obscure points in Beethoven's life, such as the cause of his deafness and the identity of the Well-Beloved, the author offers no hypotheses and is content with stating those of others. Preferring interpretation to speculation, he writes with captivating enthusiasm. The biography is complete and full-blooded, distinguished by the verve of its style, the clarity of the portraiture, and the richness of the background.

RAY C. B. BROWN

T. H. Morgan on Evolution

The Scientific Basis of Evolution. By Thomas Hunt Morgan. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.50.

BIOLOGISTS have never been satisfied to rest the case for evolution on that induction from historical and descriptive data by means of which it was originally formulated. Ever since Mendel's day they have sought to clear up the problem by direct experimental study of heredity. Mendel's own work, the foundation stone of the new science of genetics, seemed at first to lead away from evolution, inasmuch as its fundamental conception of the shuffling of fixed unit characters made the origin of new stable species an incomprehensible mystery. But with the discovery of mutations by Morgan and his school, the way was again opened toward tracing and explaining the movement of evolution on the basis of experimentally observable processes. The doctrine of mutations demonstrates that every once in a while new hereditary characteristics spring into being, new cards are added to the pack that is shuffled by heredity and sifted by the environment. It thus becomes conceivable that in the course of time new species should be built up differing from the parent types not merely in the blend and combination of old unit characters but in the possession of totally new traits.

This is the basis on which Professor Morgan has undertaken to explain evolution in the present work, and no one is better qualified for the task than the eminent discoverer of mutations himself. Unfortunately the mutationist theory is incomplete, and particularly when it is forced into the mold of a mechanistic or physico-chemical explanation of the evolutionary process, its difficulties stand out on all sides—difficulties which neither the scientific authority of the writer nor the brilliance of his exposition has been able to dispel.

Precisely because mutation, as a conception of changing heredity, makes possible an explanation of evolution where the Mendelian doctrine of constant heredity did not, it raises all the philosophic questions historically connected with the doctrine of

evolution, such as the nature of the concept of organism, the relation of organism and environment, teleology versus mechanism, and so on. This is not to say that the moment the topic enters or reenters the realm of philosophy one has to forgo all experimental investigation, or that one has to choose between experiment and philosophy as between two rival and exclusive religions. It means rather that sense observation and critical analysis of concepts have to go hand in hand if knowledge is to be advanced. Professor Morgan, however, seems to take a very naive view of the whole situation. In a manner that recalls the Indians who blamed Columbus for the eclipse which he predicted, he blames the philosophers and the philosophical biologists for pointing out the philosophical complexities of evolution. If only they can be kept quiet, the experimentalist will solve everything satisfactorily!

Professor Morgan relies on the experimental localization of the hereditary units or genes in the chromosomes of the cells to draw the conclusion that the genes are chemical entities governed by physico-chemical laws and that evolution is a physico-chemical process without any teleological character. But it is a mark of uncritical thinking that it generally leads to the opposite conclusion from the one intended. And so we are not surprised to find the author suddenly suggesting—after developing the whole theory of the gene with a view to a mechanistic explanation of evolution—that there is a preestablished harmony between the order of chemical changes in the genes and the order of nature outside the organism. This is teleology with a vengeance.

Despite its sharp anti-philosophical tone, Professor Morgan's book is highly stimulating. One is even tempted, in view of the well-earned scientific eminence of the author, to make allowances for his bias as a case of "Grant's whiskey." But one has the suspicion that a change of philosophic drinks might be conducive to winning even more scientific battles.

BENJAMIN GINZBURG

Shorter Notices

Banana Bottom. By Claude McKay. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

This is Claude McKay's mellowest book. It is less a novel in the usual sense than a folk tale. Though the central thread of the story concerns itself with the adventures of a black girl in her escape from the God of the white Protestant mission, it is really a book about Jamaica and the black peasants of Jamaica, their folkways, and the conflict of these folkways with those of the white, Christian ruling class. Bitia Plant, the heroine, is a Negro peasant girl who has been adopted and sent to the "mother-country" for education along traditional British lines by a high-minded missionary couple. She returns to find herself unhappy in the lofty, narrow atmosphere of the mission. Her old home and its associations are infinitely more congenial, and to these she eventually returns. No less candid than McKay's earlier works, "Banana Bottom" lacks their bitterness. Something akin to "pity and irony" has replaced his earlier militancy, but his rich and robust humor is undiminished.

The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca. By Morris Bishop. The Century Company. \$3.

One of the greatest adventures of all time has waited 400 years to be told adequately in a single book. To recall that Cabeza de Vaca and three companions—cast ashore on the Texas coast in the wreck of the expedition of Narvaez early in the sixteenth century—pressed westward 2,000 miles afoot until after eight years they reached Spaniards on the Gulf of California, is to get some idea of the length and breadth of the

achievement. A measure of its depth and cubical content may be had in recollecting that the men set out unarmed and without supplies, traveling from one group of Indians to another, always in the shadow of death from starvation, thirst, exposure, or violence at the hands of natives. Cabeza de Vaca's personal story continued, after his return to civilization, with his appointment as governor of the South American territory of La Plata, stretching from Buenos Aires to the "green hell" of the Chaco, where Paraguayans and Bolivians are at war today. Cabeza de Vaca had a vision of a colony of peace and good-will between Spaniards and Indians, but it was too exalted for his followers and ended in failure. Mr. Bishop, assistant professor of romance languages at Cornell University, has stalked material from Mexico to the dim, dusty archives of the Indies in Seville, but he has not left the sweat of his labors on his pages. In his diction he has caught some of the sonorousness and dignity of the Spanish sources, and he conveys in the book both the greatness and the pettiness of the age of which he writes. They were hard men, those *conquistadores*, hard in spirit and body, but they were as hard on themselves as on others—possessed of an almost invincible will to succeed and survive.

The Lost Empires of the Itzaes and Mayas. By Theodore A. Willard. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company. \$6.

Despite the author's naive enthusiasm for his subject and his rough style, this book, by occupying itself with the human story of the development of the Maya kingdoms and their successive dispersions rather than with details of archaeology, is more useful and interesting than most other works in its field. It tells as much as has been learned of Maya history before the Spanish conquest; adds an account of the conquest; follows with a description of the Maya country, and of the descendants of its former ruling peoples; tells the story of the archaeological re-discovery of the Maya civilization, describes the principal sites, and concludes with some fanciful conjectures regarding racial origins which do not hesitate to call upon the inevitable Atlanteans and the lost tribes of Israel.

A Green Bough. By William Faulkner. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. \$1.75.

William Faulkner seems to have learned his technique from A. E. Housman, Hart Crane, E. E. Cummings, T. S. Eliot, and other poets of very different talents. He has assimilated several styles and formed one fairly his own. But his poetry, unlike the greater part of his prose, is very literary. Well-turned, competent, phrased with a certain beauty, and never commonplace, these verses set up a series of echoes in the mind. They lack the violence of the writer's prose. They sing of love, of beauty, of loss, of the rather typical poetic subjects:

Over the world's rim, out of some splendid noon,
Seeking some high desire, and not in vain,
They fill and empty the red and dying moon
And, crying, cross the rim of the world again.

The language, one will note, has no very individualistic turn. The imagery comes over from a romantic tradition. But for all this, Mr. Faulkner is not entirely unmodern. He has the modern's ability to analyze the feelings, the modern's certainty of disillusionment:

Man comes, man goes and leaves behind
The bleaching bones that bore his lust;
The palfrey of his loves and hates
Is stabled at the last in dust.

He cozened it and it did bear
Him to wishing's utmost rim;
But now, when wishing's gained, he finds
It was the steed that cozened him.

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The Tides of Life. By R. G. Hoskins. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.50.

In "The Tides of Life" the author gives us a book in the much-exploited field of endocrinology written with conservative mind and with scrupulous attention to accuracy. He demonstrates that it is possible to make a popular book on science interesting without embellishing or romanticizing the facts. His book covers the subject in great detail, including a discussion of the recently isolated extract of the adrenal gland. The author is optimistic about the future of glandular therapy and believes that glandular extracts have not been utilized to their full capabilities. He remains, however, very critical and does not allow his wishes to dictate his conclusions.

D. H. Lawrence and the Body Mystical. By Frederick Carter. Frederick Warne and Company. \$2.

From this small monograph one gains an insight into an aspect of Lawrence's mind which has been but little emphasized. Altogether too much attention has been directed to his sexual notions, and insufficient knowledge of his somewhat chaotic ideas has led to the general opinion that sex was his be-all and end-all. Truly comprehended, Lawrence is seen as a proponent of anti-intellectualism—of a non-Christian mysticism. Unable to discover a developed terminology to express his meaning, he groped and stuttered. He objected to the intellectualization of our emotions and of the deeper drives within us (sex included), scorned science as Aldous Huxley noted, and condemned Christianity. Seeking to define his message, he resorted to studies of what are ordinarily described as uncivilized peoples, and sought in the remains of such pre-Christian people as the Etruscans a key to the enigma of their earth-bound sufficiency and happiness. Mr. Carter here reveals Lawrence's intense interest in astrology, theosophy, and the personality doctrines of the alchemists. Mr. Carter is the author of a book entitled "The Dragon of Revelations," to which Lawrence contemplated contributing a preface. It grew into his book "Apocalypse," in which he attempted to extricate the primitive "wisdom" there overlaid by St. John with Jewish "moralism." Lawrence is thus related to another great literary artist of our day, also an enemy of science, William Butler Yeats. Mr. Carter's book includes glimpses of Lawrence discussing these esoteric matters with the author and a picture of the last days at Bandol. Mr. Carter is impressed by the fact that Lawrence's villa was called Beau Soleil and that the sanitarium at Venice where he was carried during the final weeks was named Ad Astra!

Drama

Art and Pleasure

"LITTLE OL' BOY," the reform-school drama by Albert Bein, has found a home at last in the Playhouse. I say "at last" because the piece has been repeatedly announced by various managers who later abandoned it, and I must now add that the reasons for so much vacillation have become clear enough. The script has qualities sufficient to tempt any ambitious producer, but it also has defects which might well give pause to such entrepreneurs as are not over-anxious to lose their money. Its chances of popular success are slim indeed, and that is not all; for it raises again in more than usually interesting form the aesthetic problems connected with the "play with a purpose."

One defect common to most such plays it certainly escapes. It is not too overtly didactic, and it does not, therefore, give the impression of being an artificial fable cooked up for the sake of

a predetermined "message." It is, on the contrary, quite convincingly and even quite painfully real. The author, who is said to have had some personal experience with penal institutions, obviously knows his types and obviously knows how to present them in dramatic form. His characters engage the interest at once and the excitement grows steadily as the play progresses toward his melodramatic climax. There can be no doubt as to one's real concern with the amiable weakling and the strong tough rebel who takes that weakling under his wing. One follows their flight with an agonized suspense, one hopes against hope that they will reach some happy end, and one accepts the final catastrophe as one accepts any painful inevitability against which protest is vain. No one could come away with withers unwrung or without feeling the force of the indictment which it is the ultimate purpose of the play to draw. The audience has been made to share a suffering for which it knows that the callous bungling of society is really responsible.

What more, one may ask, is to be expected of any serious play? It holds the interest and it conveys its message. But the answer to that question is as simple as the question itself. One may ask what pleasure, what joy, or at least what emotional satisfaction it affords. One may ask, in short, what motive one could have for seeking out the particular experience which the play supplies. Few would deny that that is the question which potential audiences do ask, but some, perhaps, would deny what I strongly maintain—namely, that the question is a perfectly legitimate one, and that the purpose of art always will be to give pleasure of some kind. This pleasure may be any one of many sorts. In pure melodrama it may be the pleasure of seeing the hero triumph after what have seemed to be insurmountable difficulties. In tragedy it may arise out of feelings so elevated that their poetic exaltation is gladly bought at the cost of participation in outwardly unhappy events. Sometimes, even, when indignation runs high enough, it may resemble the pleasure which an orator gives merely by voicing with superior articulateness sentiments which are struggling unhappily for utterance in the hearts of an audience whose thoughts he expresses more clearly than the audience has been able to express them for itself. But Mr. Bein's drama does none of these things. It is real and convincing without discharging the emotions which it arouses. It ends with a dissonance unacceptable in melodrama without rising to the nobility of tragedy. In a word, it harrows the feelings without giving us any adequate compensation for the pain which it asks us to suffer.

To say this is not to say that the drama with a message is artistically impossible. Even a play as essentially artless as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" attracted millions of spectators without being either good melodrama or good tragedy; but it attracted them because, like the orator, it gave simple expression to partisan feelings already so strong that its mere articulateness was a joy. It was a hymn of hate in disguise, and hymns of hate spread like wildfire. But to say what I have said certainly is to imply that every playwright as well as every producer should, as an artist, ask of any play he proposes to write or to present: "What joy will it give?" Several producers did ask themselves that question, and as a result of the asking they surrendered their options on "Little Ol' Boy." If the author had asked it he might have written a play which would not, like the present one, seem somehow to lack a point.

"Man Bites Dog" (Lyceum Theater) represents the final stage in the degeneration of the type established by the newspaper melodrama "The Front Page." It bears, one might say, about the same relation to such hectic misrepresentations of a newspaper office as they themselves bear to actuality. Carried one step farther it might have been a really funny burlesque, but as written it falls somewhere between melodramatic satire and frank parody. One does not know exactly how it ought to be taken, and one ends by not taking it at all.

"Yeomen of the Guard" (St. James Theater) is the second in Mr. Aborn's series of Gilbert and Sullivan revivals. One of the operas less frequently played, it is perhaps less merry in text and score than some, but it is musically very fine, and Mr. Aborn has given a satisfying production. Incidentally, it is worth noticing that, grand opera aside, Gilbert and Sullivan are the only nineteenth-century writers for the stage whose works as a whole are still live enough to find an audience for a series of revivals.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

Camera Wit

OF the screen translation of Robert E. Sherwood's "Reunion in Vienna" (Gaiety) one can say that it suffers not at all in comparison with the original stage play. It remains, on the whole, the same effective bit of old-fashioned theatrical glamor, served up with just enough modern psycho-analytical sauce to save the sophisticated face. Even the satire, which is most endangered in these transformations, is kept intact; in several instances it is actually improved upon. In fact, the treatment of the big love scene between Rudolf and Elena offers one of the best examples we have had in some time of what might be called camera wit. It is a daring scene, one of the most graphic representations of the *lutte d'amour* that the screen has yet essayed. (Is it possible that our censors have declared a holiday, or is it simply that they are very naive?) But what makes it really interesting is the manner in which the director, Sidney Franklin, by an inspired shift of camera focus, turns the exaggerated passion of the hyperthyroid Archduke into pure burlesque. Everything in this sequence depends on the order in which the shots are shown: first, the lovers lying on the couch in close embrace, next a close-up of the gipsy musicians playing above their heads, and then a close-up of Elena looking very surprised, for Rudolf is suddenly nowhere to be seen. Before the audience recovers from the shock of his disappearance, Rudolf is shown again, lying at the opposite end of the couch, with the lady's slipper at his lips. This is surely an instance of the "felicitous perception or expression of associations between ideas or words not usually connected, such as to produce an amusing surprise" (Webster). Substitute for "ideas or words" images or shots, and for the order of logic the order of action, and you have a definition of the kind of wit illustrated in this scene, a kind of wit only possible on the screen.

Although the camera throughout this picture is used with such success for small effects, there is little effort to build up the larger background of post-war Vienna. No contrasts are offered between the Hotel Sacher as it was before and after the debacle; there is little of the tender documentation in which a Lubitsch or Von Stroheim would have indulged. And the reason perhaps is that "Reunion in Vienna," even as a picture, is pretty exclusively the actors' affair. Here again comparisons with the play will only lead to something like a draw. It is true that John Barrymore overacts in places with unmitigated crudeness, but a great deal of crudeness is required in the role, and behind it all one feels a more aristocratic authority than Mr. Lunt was able to lend to his mad Archduke. As for Diana Wynyard's rendition of the glowing Elena, it is neither better nor worse than Miss Fontanne's but quite different from it. If she does not suggest the reformed hoyden so much as the retired court lady, the result is about the same, and her great beauty makes up for the absence of certain other charms. As entertainment of the semi-romantic, semi-sophisticated sort "Reunion in Vienna" stands pretty high among the season's offerings.

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"Zoo in Budapest" (Radio City Music Hall) begins as a sentimental little idyl about two orphans who fall in love with each other in the very romantic atmosphere of the Budapest Zoological Gardens. This atmosphere, it should be said, is quite authentically rendered; and despite the miscasting of Gene Raymond in the sympathetic role of the boy, a certain tenuous charm pervades the earlier episodes. But before the end the animals are allowed to break loose from their cages and for a time wholly replace the human actors in the audience's interest. The film may best be described as another animal picture in disguise.

Close upon "Gabriel Over the White House" comes "Looking Forward" (Capitol), another attempt to cheer up American movie audiences during the present economic doldrums. Optimism and courage are the keynote of this fable of a great London merchant (Lewis Stone) and his superannuated clerk (Lionel Barrymore) who encounter bad times only to find they both gain by the experience. Based on a play by C. L. Anthony, the author of "Autumn Crocus," the film suffers primarily from a badly organized script. There are too many characters and too many situations for either director or audience to keep very straight in the mind. There is also, it should be warned, a goodly portion of British whimsy in the middle section.

The Fifth Avenue Playhouse continues its series of offerings in the French language with a new talking version of "Les Trois Mousquetaires." Photographically the film has little to commend it, although it was screened in the actual region of the Dumas novel. But it is certain to have a special interest for those who delight in the Dumas romances in any form and for those who like to hear French spoken as it is spoken nowadays only on the stage of the Comédie Française.

WILLIAM TROY

Art

The Clinical Eye

WHAT Lewis Mumford calls "the pulse of the nation" is on view in this year's Independents' show at the Grand Central Palace. If he is right, then the nation is a bad cardiac case, and the ambulance should be called. The show is small, which means most likely that fewer amateurs this year had the seven dollars necessary for entry. Two trends seem to dominate, almost so much as to divide the exhibit sharply, leaving a few neutral offerings between them. These tendencies might be oversimplified for description as extrovert and introvert, the first evident in a large proportion of canvases and figures with a social message or protest, the second and larger confusedly *surréaliste* in manner and also in matter, and in feeling ranging from nervous depression to shrill despair. Pure decoration is served only by the Pueblo Indian mural exhibits, and religion and romance by Sing Sing and Dannemora. All the pictures from Sing Sing are Catholic. Dannemora contributes copies of Gainsborough, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Swiss scenes, and newspaper pictures. The skins have a papery pallor and the Blue Boy and Red Boy look like chorus girls. One original, *Wild Horses*, is an excellent folk-painting—naive, vigorous, a shade pathetic. The show as a whole exhibits the American earmark of technical skill, and points to emotional breakdown.

These trends shift in the Whitney Museum show of Guggenheim Fellowship artists, who represent presumably the pulse of an older or more advanced and established artistic generation. The Guggenheim Foundation intends to foster no special tendency and the show bears out that policy, which seems to make for moderation, more conservatism than otherwise, and very little experimenting, as well as for a uniform excellence tech-

nically. Throughout there is nothing that is not well made, as is a good chair or a good shoe. There are many picturesque and pleasant pictures and nothing emotionally indecorous except a few socio-mystical things as introverted as an intestine—Gassner's mural cartoons especially. One thing lives—Gwen Lux's torso, *Icarus*, which comes so close to genius that this reviewer waives the margin. It seems to attract a good deal of attention, mostly unfavorable, which is usually a good sign. Though it is unique in quality, it forms part of a minority trend manifest in both shows, which is an interest in and a groping for monumentalism. This is doubtless due in part to the increasing weight of Mexican muralist influence, but it represents, too, the road to life of American art in the future.

This forecast seems to be borne out by the very small and neuter show called "A Picture Is Sold" at the G. R. D. studios, a collection of pictures sold in the last several years. The forecast is corroborated, also, by the report in "Recent Social Trends" that art schools warn their increasing numbers of students that "only one in ten will make a living, and only one in a hundred will make a name." Still, the amount of money spent on art in the United States is pointed out as an encouraging sign, though to be sure most of it is spent on "art in business," which is Hoover for advertising. What the connoisseurs buy, apart from fake Rembrandts, if the G. R. D. sales are typical, are small nothings, with one exception (Doris Rosenthal) as innocuous as the etchings in a hotel room. This commits potential producers to an artistic *Dannemora* or starvation, so no wonder so many people at the Independents' have the jitters.

The suspicion grows that an art gallery is no place to take the pulse of the nation, and this reviewer is willing to stop and cast a clinical eye instead at automobile shows, for example, where surely the nation's aesthetic joys are in active evidence. As for excitement caused by painting, it has been seen in the small mobs of watchers who somehow crashed the formidable gates of the unfinished R. C. A. tower in Radio City, to watch Diego Rivera and his gang doing big things in a big way. The sight of painters working like bricklayers in the clangor and dust of building seemed to arouse large feelings in the fascinated audience—students and workmen mostly—who gazed beatific and concerned as excavation-watchers. Somebody was on hand with a watch—they got half an hour—because it seemed that there was always another shift waiting at the door.

ANITA BRENNER

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